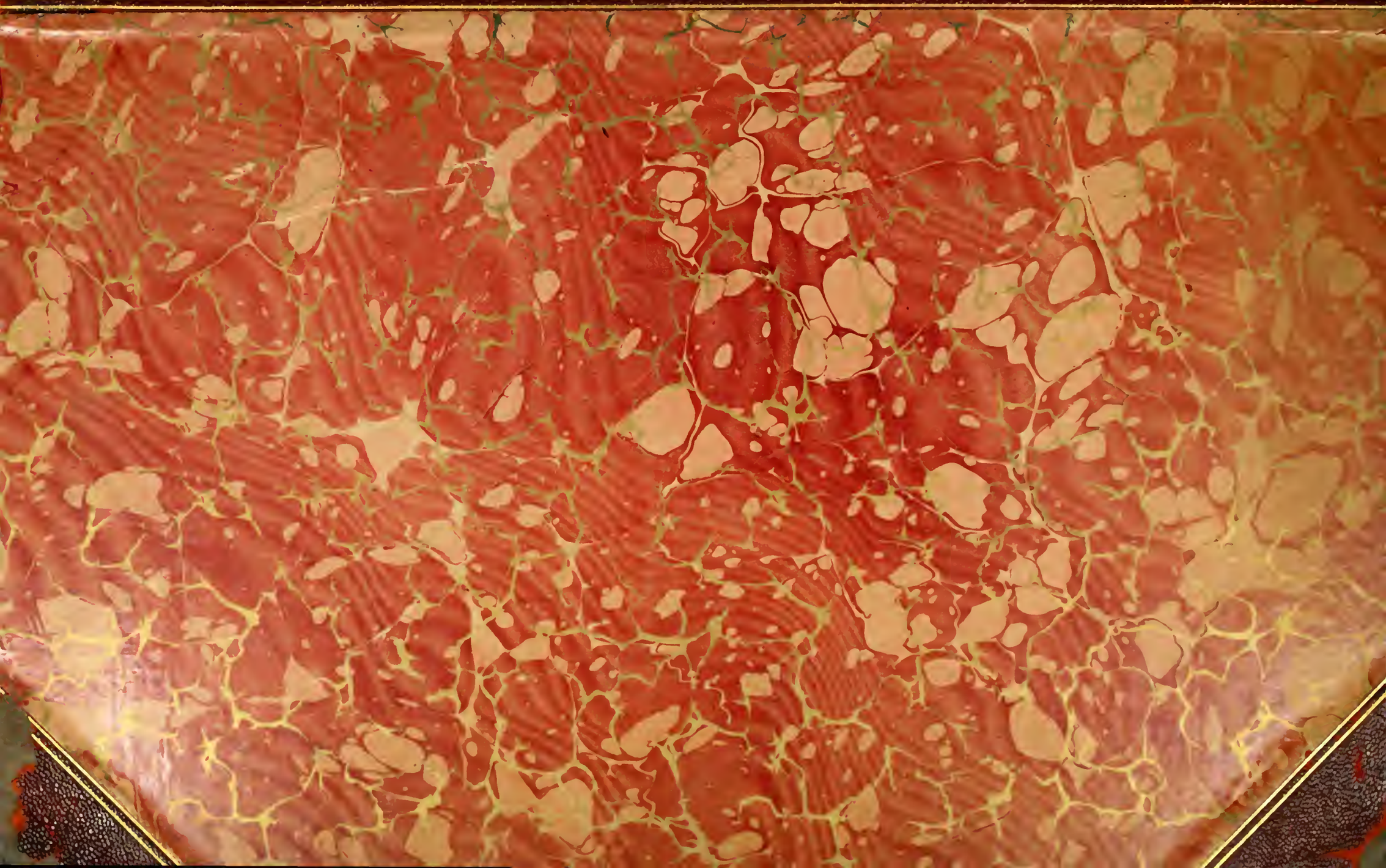
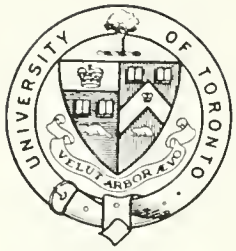
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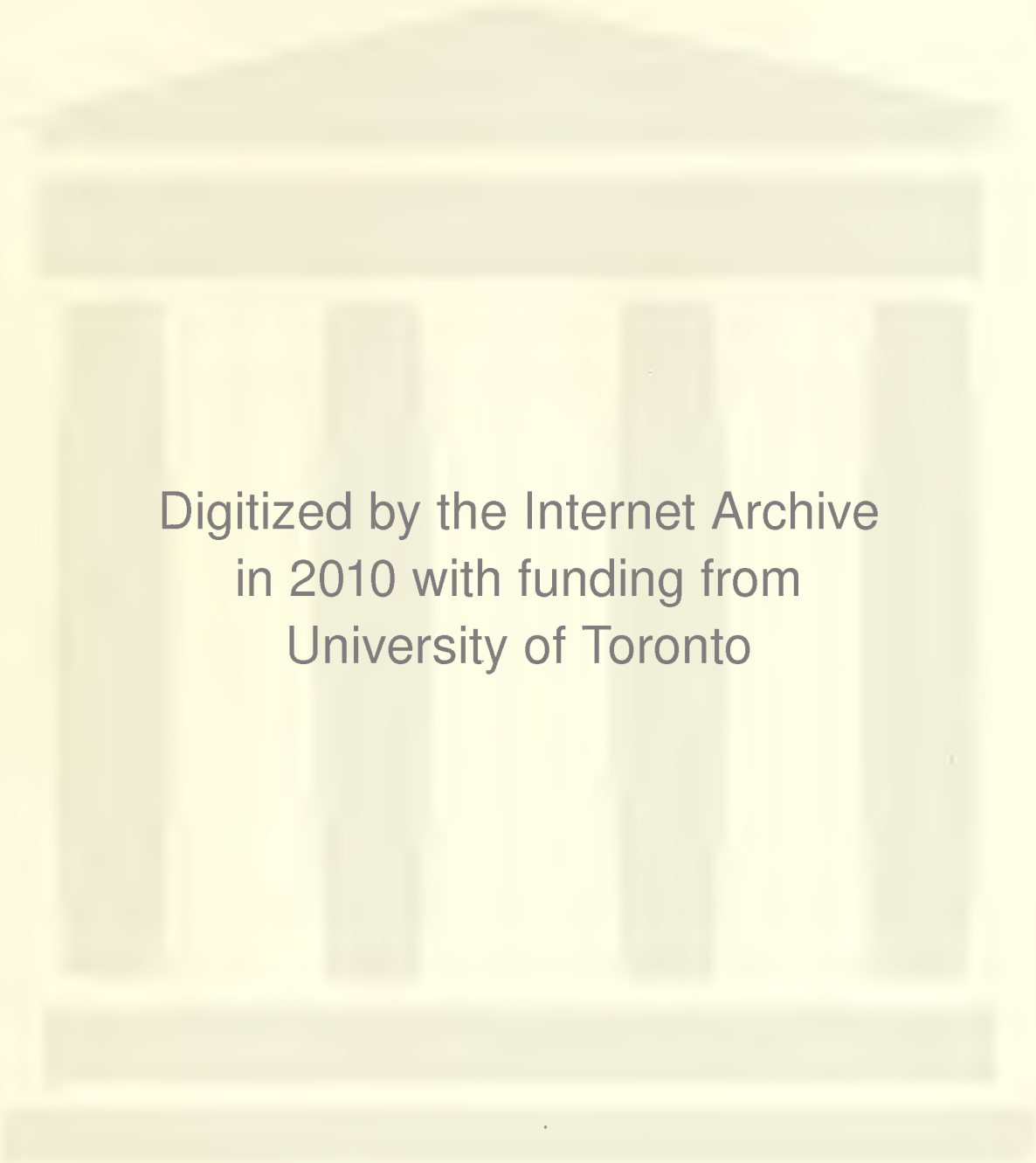
Josephine
Empress
and
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(J.S.)


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THE EMPRESS JOSEPHINE IN 1806

Fac-simile in colours of Gérard's picture.

(Musee de Versailles

30256

JOSÉPHINE

EMPRESS AND QUEEN

BY

FRÉDÉRIC MASSON.

TRANSLATED BY MRS. CASHEL HOEY.



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JOSÉPHINE IN 1800

P. P. Prud'hon's study for the large portrait in the Louvre

Belonging to M. Alfred Sauvé



JOSÉPHINE EMPRESS AND QUEEN.

I.

LIFE AT THE TUILERIES.

The period of Joséphine's association with the Empire extends from the 28th Floréal, Year XII. (18th of May, 1804), when the Senate saluted her by the title of Empress at Saint-Cloud, to the 16th December 1809, when her marriage with Napoleon was dissolved at the Tuileries. These dates must be carefully borne in mind; for events occurred so rapidly and accumulated so fast in that space that it seems as though they must have taken three or four lustres to accomplish instead of only one. Within those five years we encounter a vast array of facts, a great number of persons, living or dead, and an imposing series of fêtes, ceremonies,

and journeys. The face of Europe was entirely changed by four treaties of peace; Austria was twice conquered; Prussia was destroyed and Russia subdued. Spain was invaded, Italy constituted, Germany confederated, and Poland regenerated. The new century dawned in the light of an apotheosis which was to illumine the whole of it, and was excited, almost intoxicated, by the breeze of glory that fluttered the folds of the great trophy of conquered flags. Strange and mysterious syllables formed the names of victorious battles, as though dictated by destiny to be engraven in the memory of peoples: Austerlitz, Jena, Eylau, Somo-Sierra, Essling, Wagram. All this in five years, and the dazzling splendour of those five years throws all that comes after them into the shade; every eye dwells on them alone; they seem *to be* the century, and how many other centuries!

The memory of Joséphine is so closely associated with those five years of her reign as Empress, when she played her part, appeared before the people and held her Court, that she too seems outside of the time-limit and gains by being perennial. She has left marks of her transitory presence in Paris, so many, so lasting, and so deep, that we fail to realize that she passed any part of those five years elsewhere than in the capital itself, with the brief interruptions of occasional visits to Saint-Cloud and Malmaison.

Now, the fact is that, during those years, she lived barely twelve months in Paris; she passed thirteen months at Saint-Cloud; travelled in France and out of France for two years; remained at Malmaison eight months, at Rambouillet, one month, at Fontainebleau, three months and a half; and she never made a continuous sojourn or had a settled establishment in any of those places. Her twelve months in Paris were taken by instalments of two, or, at the most, three months: in the winter 1804-1805, three months; in 1806, two months; in 1807, two months; in 1808, three months; in 1809, three months; the thirteen months that were spent at Saint-Cloud involved seven 'voyages;' her one month at Rambouillet involved five. In the course of those five years, she visited three watering-

places, passing two "seasons" at Plombières, one at Aix-la-Chapelle, she also visited the borders of the Rhine, lived nearly six months at Strasburg and four at Mayence, visited Germany, Italy, Belgium, the north, the entire south, and the centre of France; from her pauses in Paris or at Saint-Cloud she deducted two, five, or eight days for Malmaison.

Hers was a life of coming and going, a sort of giddy race, as though it were thrown to the whirlwind, and tossed about in its grasp. It takes one's breath away to follow her, to count up and trace out her movements. Every moment the scene was changed by a wave of the terrible magician's wand, the journey had to be resumed, amid the dust of the high ways, to the noise of the cracking of whips and the clatter of wheels on the paved road.

To describe these places, to enumerate the surroundings amid which we have to contemplate the Empress, would be wearisome to the mind. And is it necessary? Wherever she lived, was not her life almost always the same? Wheresoever she showed herself, was not the picture in a similar frame?

The palaces she passes through have indeed different names and their windows look on different views, some are more grandiose and beautiful than others, but they are all laid out almost alike, with strictly prescribed arrangement, and similar furniture, and existence in them is conducted according to a ritual from which there is no departing, a routine corresponding to and inseparable from the places themselves.

A prescribed number of heavy gilded seats are ranged against the wainscoting; here and there big console tables support heavy vases; on the walls are great dingy panels, enclosed in gilded carvings; on these the flesh tints of tall allegorical figures may just be discerned, but nothing is individual, or has any of the charm of a dwelling-place, there is nothing to care for, to remember, to come back to, nothing to indicate personal habits, and mark the tendencies of the mind, the aspirations of the soul. These palaces are but hostelries, chilly and sumptuous; sovereigns put up at them, and passed

away from them with the change of an initial or an emblem, whatsoever their race, their origin, their tastes, or their desires.

These palaces were not, in fact, built to be lived in, but for purposes of State display under rules which know no variation, for its routine is dictated by an immutable code of etiquette, which is identical or nearly identical in all the Courts of the civilised West.

Napoleon, it is true, by separating the 'Service d'honneur' from the 'Service des besoins,' by "getting rid of all that was real and unsightly, and substituting what was only nominal and purely decorative" released himself and consequently released his wife from the slavery to which the King and Queen of France had been subjected. He divided his existence into two parts, the exterior and the interior life : the scene of the one was the Appartement d'honneur, the other was passed in the Appartement intérieur. But in the case of the Empress that division was more apparent than real. The one life constantly encroached upon the other; etiquette made its way into the private Apartments, and although it was different, it was no less oppressive. The architects had had their own way there also, in the appropriation and arrangement of the space, and the same decoration, the same stiffness, the same absence of homeishness. the same suppression of personality prevailed. In the royal hostelry, there were rooms in which the imperial passing guests were to be found at certain hours and where they slept, the others were the rooms where they received, but the only difference between the former and the latter was made by a few articles of furniture, and the banal aspect of the whole was increased by the richness of these, by their air of state, by their uselessness in daily life, so that it all seems like 'practicable' stage scenery for beings of imagination and of dreams.

Wherever the Empress goes, then, she finds—or, any how, it is got up for her—an Appartement d'honneur and an Appartement intérieur. The former is practically composed of an ante-chamber, a first salon, a second salon, and the Empress's own salon. And the same supernumeraries, in

the same costumes, appear in the same places and play the same parts with the same indifference and the same regularity.

At the door of the ante-chamber—with its Utrecht velvet seats, afterwards covered with tapis de la Savonnerie—stands the door-keeper (portier d'appartement) halberd in hand, in full livery. He wears a coat of green cloth with poppy-coloured collar and facings, decorated with gold lace, frogs and epaulets; a broad shoulder-belt embroidered in gold supports a sword with a gold sword knot; his white plumed hat is edged and laced with gold; in winter his breeches are made of raz de castor, in summer of piqué. This is a handsome costume and costs no less than 1,646 francs 23 centimes. The undress livery for ordinary days, with narrower lace, not covering the seams, plainer frogs, and a hat almost unornamented, is attainable for 498 francs 50 centimes.

This door-keeper, a fine man, who maintains a serene hauteur and a disdainful attitude towards all inferior mortals who pass before him, moves, and strikes his halberd on the floor on the approach of Their Majesties, of the princes and princesses, and of the great dignitaries only. Then do the numerous lackeys start up and form in line, and, if it is the Empress or an imperial princess who is coming, they unroll a carpet in advance of her footsteps. These lackeys form a hierarchy, and its successive degrees are distinguished by their respective costumes.

At the head are four valets de chambre who divide their service with four door-keepers (huissiers d'appartement). Their duties are to guard the inner doors, light the candles, make the fires and arrange the seats: they only, of the whole staff of servants, enter the Appartement d'honneur, which they sweep and arrange in the morning under the direction of the chamberlain of the day. These valets de chambre were dressed in black under the Consulate and in the early days of the Empire, but afterwards, like the huissiers, in 'the French coat' of green cloth with gold lace, red waistcoat and black breeches: they wore swords. The first in rank had embroidery on the collar and cuffs.

There are two French running-footmen who were joined in 1808 by two

Basques: they carry letters, do certain commissions, and assist in the table service as do the valets de chambre d'appartement also. In undress livery these might be taken for persons of no importance and mere footmen; but they should be seen in full dress, with the green coat laced on all the seams, velvet collar and cuffs, wide sash of poppy-coloured silk with gold fringes, their long white silk stockings girt by double garters also gold-fringed, each man holding a tall cane with gold cord and tassels. These are the successors to the heydues of former days, functionaries who preceded the King's coaches in light silk attire, and gallantly delivered the billets of the lordly courtiers to the ladies of the past century.

Lastly, there are the footmen; their number increasing every year; only twelve in 1804, twenty-two in 1806, twenty-six later on; they wear the green coat more or less gold-laced, the scarlet waistcoat and raz de castor breeches. Their service is altogether outside, and of the ante-chamber order; they never enter the salons under any pretext, only follow the Empress's carriage and the Court equipages, and for the rest of their time lounge in the vestibule.

Beyond the vestibule lies the first salon, furnished with folding-seats of gilded wood covered in Beauvais tapestry: this is used by the officers of Their Majesties' Maisons d'honneur not on duty, and the officers of the princes and princesses: persons summoned to it or admitted to audience of the Empress who are not entitled to pass the door of the second salon, have right of entry. All day long, from eight in the morning until eleven at night, the two pages on duty—mere boys, the smallest and smartest in the School of pages are selected for the Empress—are there. They look well in undress uniform, with the green coat bearing nine stripes upon the breast buttoned on a white waistcoat, green breeches and black gaiters; but are much smarter on full-dress days when they don the green coat gold-laced on all the seams, the scarlet vest and breeches laced with gold, the three-cornered hat with its gold edging

JOSEPHINE IN 1799

Water-colour by Isabey

[illegible]



and its white plume, and especially, a shoulder-knot of green silk gold-edged, dotted with golden bees, with an eagle embroidered on both the gold-fringed ends, which is the distinctive mark of their functions.

These pages have no interior duties to perform beyond presenting plates to the Empress at dinner, and filling her glass. They are there to execute commissions of form and messages of ceremony : then, mounting a horse kept always saddled, and preceded by a groom in livery, the page gallops away at 'page's speed.' On his arrival, announced by a battery of blows from the groom's whip, doors are thrown wide open, lackeys form in line, he passes through into a salon, and even though the person to whom his message is addressed be in bed, he must not be denied admittance. Such messages are well rewarded; the pages are sometimes given handsome rings or pretty pins, and moreover they have honours paid them, for on their departure they are attended to the outer door of the ante-chamber.

Such missions fall but rarely to the lot of the pages of the Empress Joséphine ; they seldom have an opportunity of accompanying their Mistress on getting into or out of her carriage, the latest in her service walking before her, the oldest holding up the train of her gown ; but when an occasion does occur, the two pages sit behind the coachman if the piquet is in attendance ; if it is not, they wait, after dark, in the vestibule, to receive the Empress as she alights, holding torches of white wax in their hands, and they precede her to the Salon de service.

But when there is no going out, no message to carry, the days are long for the Court boys : they have their meals with the Emperor's pages on duty, and, when the evening is over, they go away to sleep at the Hotel Marigny in the Rue Saint-Thomas-du-Louvre, adjoining the imperial stables. Their habitual residence, however, is at Saint-Cloud in the first instance, then at Versailles : it is there that they do their drill and exercises, and wait for their commissions as sub-lieutenants of cavalry.

This first Salon is for persons of little importance only, the others merely pass through it to enter the Salon de service, where an usher



stands at the door. Here, the furniture is in Beauvais tapestry : chairs for the Princesses, X-shaped stools for the ladies of quality. The honours are done by the chamberlain of the day, in a coat of red silk or velvet embroidered in silver, and white waisteoat and breeches. On the skirt of his coat he carries the badge of his offiee, a silver key attaehed to a knot of blue ribbon with silver edge and tassels : this key has the crowned eagle in the ring, and on the shank the letter J on a shield. The equerry on duty, in a sky-blue coat embroidered in silver, is the only person who may enter this Salon in boots. Those who have the right of entry are the officers of the household : the Lady-in-waiting who has supreme command there, the Lady of the Bedehamber, the Ladies of the Palace, the Gentleman-in-waiting, the First Equerry and the ehamberlains, the officers and aides-de-camp in waiting on the Emperor ; then, the Princes and Princesses of the Imperial Family, the Great officers of the Crown and the wives of the Great officers of the Empire. The distinction is curious : thus, Madame de Talleyrand, if she came to the Tuileries, could not enter the Salon de service as wife of the Grand Chamberlain, but would enter it as wife of the 'Minister of Exterior relations.' There is no reason in the matter : it is etiquette.

Again, a double door and an usher. This is the Empress's Salon ; the furniture is in Gobelins tapestry : fauteuil for her, fauteuil for the Emperor, or, as a special graee, for Madame Mère ; chairs for the Princesses, tabourets for the others ; a table—covered with a cloth of green velvet embroidered in gold on certain days when oaths are taken at it—and then pieces of furniture plaeed against the walls in rows, and never moved. The chamberlain, after having scratched at the door and received orders, introduees those persons whom the Empress wishes to receive—these have letters of audience—or those who, like the princesses, the Lady-in-waiting and the Lady of the Bedehamber, are entitled to come into her presence wherever she may be. The usher controls the two leaves (battants) of his door, and takes good care to open both to Imperial Highnesses only.

Even sueh as the State Apartments in their essentials is the routine of

imperial exterior life, such its obligatory associates, people whose faces change, but all dressed alike, anonymous and without individuality, just as the 'décor' also is anonymous and unlocalized. Formerly there was but one fixed scene on the stage, and in front of it all the tragedies were acted. Whatsoever the subject, Greek, Roman, Persian, Thracian, or Carthaginian, the same supers, in the same tinselled attire, moved about in the vicinity of the personages who figured in large type on the bills, no matter what their name and nationality; a crowd of shadows all alike on a stage ever the same. Something like this we recognise in the imperial life, where the outside of things, the arrangement of the rooms, and the aspect of those who occupy them render it almost impossible to point out a place and to indicate a period with certainty. It is all vague, shifting, unimportant, in its monotony and its regularity: under the inflexible pressure of etiquette, amid living puppets, existence went on, making no more trace on the walls than it made impression on memory—a vain thing which left behind it mere forms, rags and tatters, stones, nothing.

* * *

The destroyed and abolished palace of the Tuileries has been effaced from memory for nearly thirty years, yet must we try to define certain features of it and to represent the dwelling as it used to be. This is a more complicated and difficult task than may be supposed, for transformations were continually going on in the distribution, decoration and furnishing of Joséphine's Apartment from 1805 to 1809, and hitherto no drawings representing its condition at a given date have been found. It is not even certain how the apartment was fitted up at the period of the divorce, for it does not appear that any 'documentary' drawing was made from 1809 to 1852, during the forty-three years of its occupation by the Duc and Duchesse d'Angoulême, and afterwards by King Louis-Philippe, his Queen, and the princesses. The latter reign inaugurated a period of alteration and embellishment, and these, which were being carried out with even

less scruple under the second Empire, resulted in a complete change of the interior physiognomy of the palace, apparently with the purpose of effacing every trace of Napoleon. The only certainty we can arrive at relates to the appropriation of place.

The 'Grand Appartement' of the Empress was reached by a flight of steps with a perron which opened on the Carrousel, at the angle of the Pavillon de Flore, and also gave access to the staircase leading to the Private Apartments of the Emperor on the first floor. Lecomte, the architect, who had charge of the arrangements in the first instance, had made the entry to Madame Bonaparte's apartments through a series of little rooms which opened on the landing and led into the salons in front of the garden. This approach possessed neither elegance nor dignity; so soon therefore as Fontaine and Percier were chosen by Napoleon to direct the works at the Tuileries, they pulled down the partition walls, and threw all these little rooms into one fine ante-chamber fronting the gardens. (Prairial, Year X—May, June, 1802.) They had formed a general plan of decoration, but the almost uninterrupted residence of Joséphine proved an obstacle to any important alteration, and, for the moment, they had to leave the salons as Lecomte had arranged them, very hurriedly, with questionable taste and little credit to himself.

Besides, in order to make these salons habitable, two conditions were absolutely necessary, and Napoleon never would admit them. The window sills were so high that no one seated in the interior of the rooms could see anything outside; but these sills could not be lowered without spoiling the exterior architecture, and Napoleon would not allow that to be touched. On the other hand, if a window were opened or a curtain raised on the ground floor of the Palace, a crowd immediately gathered in the garden, for there was free passage before the château, the inmates were only divided from the public by a terrace two steps high, and the idlers could not be expected to deprive themselves of the chance of getting sight of somebody who might belong to the Empress. Napoleon, however, who was so fond of walking, would not hear of depriving the Parisians of even a strip of their garden and a right of way to which they

were accustomed. The Empress had therefore to abstain from opening her windows and walking in the open air. It was Louis-Philippe who had the window sills lowered, and took the first private-garden ground from the public space.

The salons were left as before, hung with coloured silk under the great Louis Quatorze ceilings, with pictures after Joséphine's taste on the walls : first, Museum pictures, Correggio's *Saint Jérôme* and *La Vierge a l'Écuelle*, and a Madonna by Raphael ; afterwards, on the advice of Madame Campan, paintings by Richard "which connoisseurs regarded as equal to Gerard Dow's," such as Charles VII, Valentine de Milan, Madame de la Vallière, and again works by Dupéreux which the connoisseurs, right this time, ranked with those of the illustrious Richard.

It was not until the Year XIII (1805) that Fontaine, in consideration of the state of the ceiling of the Salon de service, obtained a credit of 31,800 francs for its repair : he took advantage of this to decorate it afresh, and made a masterpiece of the ceiling painted in grisaille, with gold reliefs on flats in grey, violet and blue. In the centre was a large painting in the style of Mignard, representing Apollo and Ceres, and, as a frame for it, compartments adorned with foliage, cornucopiæ and gilded garlands with Muses and Cupids in bright colours.

Three years later, in 1808, Fontaine was enabled to get at the Empress's Salon, with its Mignard ceiling, its walls hung, since the beginning of the Consulate, with yellow silk (quinze-seize), and its mahogany furniture covered with yellow Indian gros-grain. The decoration was touched up, not changed, the furniture, which was too plain, gave place to upholstery more sumptuous but yet not extravagant; the cost was 14,613 francs; the ceiling was brought into harmony with the taste of the day by the suppression of a portion of the heavy gilded carvings; these were replaced by figures of children surrounding the former central picture, slightly restored, and lastly, four huge candelabra in porcelain, blue ground, laden with gilded bronze, which displayed the good taste of M. Brongniart, were ordered from Sevres.

The State Apartments at the Tuileries were completed by two

large rooms en suite opening on the Cour du Carrousel and doubling the extent of the salons; but whether this arrangement of space did not suit the life of etiquette, or it was so decreed, these rooms were so little used that Joséphine hardly ever set foot in them. One, the dining-room, which was entered from the vestibule, was lighted by a single window, had a vaulted ceiling decorated with very delicate arabesques, and would have been dark but for mirrors so skilfully arranged that the light was reflected everywhere, was used by the persons of the Household and the guests of the Grand Marshal. The other, which was intended for a concert-room in 1804, was not fitted up with its blue stucco walls until after the divorce: a moveable stage was occasionally put up in it for the representations called 'des appartements,' and at other times "little" balls took place there. No direct communication existed between these rooms and the salons.

After the Empress's salon came the suite of Private Apartments. According to etiquette it ought to have consisted of a sleeping-room, a library, a dressing-room, a bathroom and a room in front; but at the Tuileries the inverse order had been adopted and the rule disregarded. Besides, these private apartments were constantly undergoing repairs or re-arrangement during the Empire: whenever the Empress was absent, new works were commanded, executed in the greatest haste, sharply criticised on her return, recommenced when she started again, and without ever giving satisfaction to the person chiefly interested. Certain rooms were done away with, others, with various innovations, were added. In the latest condition of things (1809), on coming from the Salon of the State Apartments, we should have found, first a billiard-room, then a little salon called the Salon des Trois Grâces, from a picture by Blondel, then the bed-chamber, a dressing-room and the bathroom: the latter occupied the cabinet that had been allotted to Hortense, and its stove and watertank were placed in the loft above. All these rooms were on the garden front, and formed the apartment of Madame Bonaparte and her daughter in the earlier period of the Consulate.



JOSEPHINE IN 1806

Pastel by P. P. Prud'hon

Belonging to M. le Duc de Lucay



In Year XIII (1805) an addition was made to the Private Apartment; consisting of a suite of rooms which looked upon the courtyard and had hitherto been used as bureaus for the State Secretariat. These were reached directly from the Carrousel by a special perron with a 'marquise' awning, then came an ante-chamber occupied by the Empress's Mamelukes, a waiting-room on the left, then another, called the Salon des Marchands. Various rooms on the right, situated behind the bed-chamber and extending back so far as the ante-chamber, furnished places for the stowage of the Empress's personal effects. Napoleon had intended them for the accommodation of the Lady-in-waiting, but Joséphine disposed of them herself. The Lady-in-waiting had her apartment in the Pavillon de Flore, in the locality formerly occupied by the Offices.

From 1806, then, the Empress's apartment occupied the whole of the ground floor of the two pavilions built by Ducercean and Jean Bullant, and situated on the right of the Pavillon de Flore; but it did not impinge upon the original château, or the left wing of the central pavilion. That wing, at the period with which we are dealing, was used, on the garden side, as a sort of open gallery forming a terrace on the first floor, in front of the Grands Appartements, and was divided into a suite of rooms which formed the lodgings of the Grand Marshal. In 1808, the Emperor ordered these rooms to be adjoined to the Private Apartments, but this could not be done without the instalment of Duroc in the Pavillon de Marsan, and the project was not realized until the beginning of 1811, to make room for the King of Rome.

The rooms opening upon the garden were separated throughout their whole length from the rooms opening upon the courtyard, by a dark corridor; several singularly narrow staircases admitting of the passage of only one person at a time, formed the communication between the ground floor, the entresols, and the first floor, which Napoleon inhabited; one of these staircases led directly into Joséphine's room. All about there were little closets, recesses, and passages which seemed cut out of the walls. A portion of the Private Apartments being entresol, this procured space

for cabinets which afterwards formed the Petit Appartement and were used, in Joséphine's time, for the purposes of her wardrobe.

The offices of the Household were situated in the basement.

The decoration of the Private Apartments such as it was at the beginning of the Consulate did not please Joséphine. Almost so soon as she was installed there, and especially after the Empire, she required that it should be changed and embellished, and she particularly desired to have a bed-chamber handsomely fitted up for her. While she was in Germany, in 1806, Fontaine set his wits to work on a truly imperial scheme of furnishing. For two velvet-pile carpets alone, supplied by Sallandrouze, the sum of 9,963 francs 62 centimes was paid; Boulard the upholsterer received 55,189 francs 22 centimes for hangings, draperies, and covered furniture; Jacob's account for the state bed and the other articles was 21,719 francs, the whole amounting to 99,982 francs 64 centimes. Joséphine pronounced everything hideous, and, as she was tenacious, in less than a year (March 1807), she gave the architect fresh orders to prepare a room to her liking, requiring that all should be in the most elegant style and of the newest 'ton': the walls grey and gold, with beautiful arabesques, antique statues and furniture to correspond. At the budget of 1808, the Emperor consented to open a credit of 60,000 francs for this purpose; but what could be done with that? The furniture purchased two years before could not be replaced in a room decorated in the prescribed fashion, and four times the sum that the Emperor had assigned would not suffice. The architects, distracted by orders which they could not execute and reiterated demands which they could not satisfy, resolved to disregard the ideas of the Empress and just carry out their own. They employed the credit of 60,000 francs in fitting up the whole of the Private Apartments, and, when Joséphine came back from Bayonne, all was finished. On the 16th of August, two days after her arrival at Saint-Cloud, Fontaine waited on Her Majesty and "informed her with the utmost caution that he had not exactly followed her directions in the decoration of her apartments, for, in place of the fine woodwork, carved, gilded, and painted in grey that she

had asked for, he had arranged for the placing of rich stuffs." These hangings might be of Lyons brocade, if it were Her Majesty's pleasure, and afterwards she might have the satisfaction of hanging pictures of her own selection upon the walls. Joséphine did not entirely banish Fontaine from her good graces, she had known him too long, but she was very much displeased by his having taken such a liberty, and as she already had but little liking for the Tuileries, she made no haste to try the rooms in which M. Fontaine had resolved to make her live. On coming to Paris from Saint-Cloud in the month of October, she went to the Elysée, and it was not until the 4th of December that she resolved to let the architect hear her criticism on his performance.

When the Empress, on the 22nd of October, had inspected the rooms, she had fully formed her opinion, but she allowed the Emperor to speak. He found great fault with the drawing and the colour of the figures of children on the ceiling of the bed-chamber, and the design of Blondel's picture, *Les Trois Grâces*, which was placed in the preceding Cabinet de service. David, who accompanied him, saw an opportunity in this for asserting his injured prerogative as first painter, and went farther: "These are your own pupils," said Fontaine to David —this was not the case with regard to Blondel who was a pupil of Regnault.—"What matter!" replied David, "it is not pupils, but masters whom His Majesty ought to employ to adorn his palaces." The hit was too palpable for Napoleon not to be 'touched;' he carried away a very indifferent impression of Fontaine's achievements; but the case was much worse with Joséphine. Her orders had been set aside; instead of the pretty things which she had asked for, the ceilings and wainscotings had been laden with heavy old fashioned ornaments; the furniture was neither handsome enough nor rich enough; in short, everything was bad, and having said so she went back to the Élysée. She did not re-inhabit the Tuileries until the 12th of December; on the 25th of February 1809, she returned to the Elysée with the Emperor: from thence she went to Strasburg, Plombières, Malmaison, Fontainebleau. In fact she did not re-enter

the Tuileries until just before the divorce; so that she lived in the re-decorated apartment for three months at most. It was for this reason that the Emperor, however delicate in other arrangements, did not think it necessary to make important alterations for the occupation by his second wife of the rooms through which his first had merely flitted.

In these Private Apartments, which were only the continuation of the State Apartments, so far as the decoration and style of the principal rooms were concerned, the Empress belonged a little more to herself, or, at least, she led a somewhat less public life. It was her women who waited on her there: one of these, who were at first called femmes de chambre, and afterwards dames d'annonce—Napoleon called them female ushers, they afterwards got the name of 'femmes rouges'—was stationed at the door which opened from the Salon of the Grands Appartements into the billiard room, and when the chamberlain of the day came to take the orders of the Empress, he scratched at that door and was introduced. Except the Officers on duty—and for service purposes—no man entered the Private Apartments.

The tradespeople, male and female, came in by the perron leading to the Carrousel; none might pass through the Grand Appartement, or be received anywhere but in the Salon des Marchands.

Only women belonging to the Household or presented at Court might habitually enter the Private Apartments, and these, with the exception of the Lady-in-Waiting and the Lady of the Bedchamber, by special order of the Empress.

The arrangement of the apartments at Saint-Cloud was very like that adopted at the Tuileries; only that the Empress's Grand Appartement, forming a suite to the Emperor's Grand Appartement, was on the first floor and was fitted up in a more modern and feminine style. Not Percier and Fontaine but Raimond the architect had been employed in this instance, and it was Pfister, the First Consul's Intendant who selected the furniture. The latter was not to the taste of Napoleon; he liked the

severe, and especially appreciated his ordinary architects for that sense of the grandiose which they only, in nearly two centuries, had brought to bear on the decoration of palaces. He was grateful to them for having created a style so naturally appropriate to his reign and to his person that it has become indivisible from them, a majestic style which well becomes the abodes of royalty, although it is severe and cold. At Saint-Cloud, on the contrary, the Emperor condemned the furnishing; he said "Apartments only suitable for a kept woman had been fitted up for him, with gewgaws, trumpery, and nothing substantial." They were, however, much more admired by the public who were admitted to see them than those at the Tuileries, and the taste that had presided over them was highly praised. Art of the first order was fairly represented; pictures borrowed from the Musée Napoléon: in Her Majesty's Salon de service a Holy Family by Bernardino Luini, also a Holy Family by Titian, and the portrait of Alfonso d'Avalos, Marchese del Guasto; by Guido the Martyrdom of Saint Sebastian; by Guérin, the only modern, Phèdre et Hippolyte. The fine portrait of Madame Mère, by Gérard, adorned the Salon of the Empress, but the chief object of curiosity there was the great mirror all in one piece above the mantel-piece: the sheet of quicksilver at its back disappeared on the pressure of a spring, revealing the vista of the park on the side of the Lantern of Diogenes, with the graduated ponds and fountains, the vases and the statues.

The Petits Appartements were much smarter than at the Tuileries: the bed-chamber was hung with velvet of 'terre d'Égypte' colour, embroidered in gold; the curtains of the same, fringed with gold, the inner curtains were of India muslin embroidered in gold; the bed, shaped like a boat, was of mahogany with gilded bronze ornaments like the consoles and chests of drawers, which were after the English fashion; and there were looking-glasses everywhere. The bath-room was all in marble with friezes painted after the antique—Joséphine forsook this bath-room in 1806 and had a more simple one arranged in the Pavillon de Breteuil for the medicinal baths which she required.

At Saint-Cloud etiquette was slightly relaxed in some respects, life was less public, the confinement less strict. The gardens being private, walking exercise was easy, and carriage drives in the great park or in the neighbourhood of the palace, especially to Malmaison, were almost habitual. The monotony of the days was somewhat broken up, but the course of them was not modified; the same people appeared and passed; the same hours brought round the same obligations, and for the Empress life on its main lines remained the same.

* * *

A minute and exact account must be rendered of that life, passed amid the surroundings which we can henceforth almost realize, if we would form some idea of the tastes and habits of Joséphine. Let us then place it on record day by day.

If the Emperor has passed the night in the Empress's apartments he leaves them at eight o'clock in the morning, and, at the Tuileries, he ascends, at Saint-Cloud, he descends to his own. At Saint-Cloud, there is no direct access; he has to traverse a long corridor with the rooms of the Ladies of the Palace and the waiting-maids opening upon it, in order to reach a public staircase.

About the same hour the Empress's women enter her room and let in the daylight. They bring the first repast, a cup of some infusion which Joséphine has ordered the previous evening, and lemonade; this she takes in bed, where she remains some time longer, nestling in her sheets of embroidered cambric amid pillow-cases to match or frilled with Mechlin lace.

She wears at night a cambric-muslin or embroidered-muslin cap with borders of Valenciennes and Mechlin; sometimes a cambric-muslin cap edged with point d'Angleterre, needle-point or embroidery, and also a long head-band of embroidered muslin or batiste edged with Mechlin, or again an embroidered muslin kerchief edged with point d'Angleterre. Although she has a great number of chemises, long-sleeved, bell-sleeved,

every-way sleeved, she wears at night the same kind of chemise as by day, with a dressing-jacket: her wardrobe includes embroidered muslin jackets, some pelerine-shape and lined with satin of every shade, others in cambric-muslin, batiste d'Écosse, thread-net: so various are these and so numerous, it is certain she habitually wore them.

The door is opened to admit the favourite dog, for none but Fortuné had had the privilege of sleeping in his mistress's room and disputing the entrée with Napoleon. Ugly as he was, however, short-legged, long-bodied, not so much tawny as red, with a nose like a weasel, and nothing but the face and the corkscrew-tail to proclaim him a pug, Fortuné had belonged to Joséphine in 1793, and, when the Carmelite Monastery was her prison, the notes of warning or of safety were hidden underneath his collar. Fortuné was gone; he had been strangled at Mombello by the cook's big dog. Joséphine then adopted a female pet, and so much attached was she to the little animal that she sent for Moscati, the most celebrated physician in Milan, to attend it in an illness. This brought Moscati under Napoleon's notice and made his fortune. He became President of the Cisalpine Directory, deputy to the Council of Lyons, Director general of Public Instruction, Count, Great dignitary of the Iron Crown and senator of the kingdom, because he had not scorned such a patient. The little lap-dog's successor, a pug, had a place assigned to it in the carriage next after that of the Empress from the time of the Dieppe 'voyage,' in Year XI. The pug was a personage well acquainted with etiquette, and never failed, when the dresser retired after the Empress was in bed, to follow her, whomsoever she might be, into her room, where he turned himself round on a chair, and there remained until morning. Then he would go down in a leisurely manner to the 'Salon d'annonce' and wait patiently until the door of his mistress's room was opened, when he would rush in with an air of wild delight and the liveliest demonstrations of affection. A brack-hound of the smallest species, given by M. de Colbert, failed, notwithstanding his hunting talents, to dethrone the pug, or rather the pugs, for there was a family of them.

After the death of these, a gay, sprightly, little wolf-dog, one of those loulous with rough black hair, whose loving intelligence is equalled by their jealousy, was sent to Joséphine from Vienna. These dogs had their own special 'bonne' (her name was La Brisée), and their keep in ordinary years varied from 350 to 450 fr., but in 1806 rose to 568 francs: they were with the Empress the whole day, lay close to her on the sofa, where she made a cushion for them of her 'cachemire,' announced visitors as well as the chamberlains and ushers, attacked everybody who approached their mistress, had a special liking for the red calves of cardinals' legs, and would tear the robe that displeased them to rags, without any respect for its lining.

Joséphine's fondness for tame animals is a feature of her habits, tastes, and affections not to be disregarded. Her monkeys, birds, and rare animals of various kinds did not leave Malmaison, but she took the dwarfs or little negroes with her everywhere. Napoleon brought a dwarf to Egypt, who, during the Syrian expedition, stole and sold the whole of his cellar, two thousand bottles of rare Bordeaux, so firmly convinced was he that the General would not return. Then there was the dwarf whom Joséphine let out of a covered basket in the cabinet of the First Consul—he was not too well pleased with the 'surprise'—a dwarf eighteen inches in height, in full hussar's uniform. There was a colony of little negroes: Bagnette the elder, Baguette the younger, Damande, Hotelot, Suaire, Saïd, and, so long as she was 'Consulesse,' she had a little negro to sit on her coachbox and act as a page, notwithstanding what Zamore had cost Madame Du Barry. This was without prejudice to her own two big negro Mamelukes, Marche-à-terre and Ali, who were chasseurs after the new fashion, with daggers in their belts and swords at their sides. Afterwards she had a pet little savage from Borneo, whom M. de Janssens brought back for her from the Dutch Indies. This taste for the exotic was due no doubt to her Creole origin, but it was also one of the whims of fashion in the eighteenth century. A liking for animals comes to every unoccupied and indolent woman; it persuades her that she loves something or some one.



JOSEPHINE IN 1805

Picture by Gerard



The dog having made its little salutations, Joséphine rises, never later than nine o'clock, and goes into her dressing-room; this is the realm of the dressers, and as the Empress passes at least three hours of her day there, we must make acquaintance with those chief witnesses of her life. The number of women who actually serve her, who are admitted to the mysteries of her toilet, who have gained and who keep her confidence, is much less than would appear and has been stated. The women formerly in the service of the Vicomtesse de Beauharnais and of Madame Bonaparte have retired: these were Louise Compoint, of the 'voyage' to Italy, who, notwithstanding the aid afforded her, died of her foolish too-late marriage; and Agathe Rible, 'of the return from Egypt,' who was given a pension of 2,400 francs, the post of concierge at Fontainebleau for her husband and keeper of the linen room for herself, not to speak of the presents she received from Joséphine—who had herself painted by Isabey expressly for her—and many grateful souvenirs from the purveyors to the First Consul.

On the household establishment under the Empire, there are two first women, four dressers, a wardrobe-keeper, four wardrobe-women and a girl; but this was only a matter of form; the two 'first women' were there for show and etiquette only; they had no entrée into the privacy of the Empress, and hardly any functions were attached to their title, which was accompanied by a salary of 6,000 francs.

One of these first women, Madame Saint-Hilaire, had been introduced by Madame Campan in Thermidor, Year XII. (August, 1804). She was formerly a dresser in the service of Madame Victoire de France, her father was a valet-de-chambre in that of Madame Adélaïde, and her husband was an employé at the Ministry of War.

According to Madame Campan, she was a well-bred person, had an interesting face, an excellent education, great tact, and was a skilful performer upon the harp. She had no fortune and several children: this interested Joséphine, who accepted her services. One of the daughters, a phenomenon of fat, had an extraordinary voice for her age, and the Empress engaged Blangini to give her lessons. One of the sons was that

Émile-Marc Saint-Hilaire, called Marco de Saint-Hilaire, who, availing himself of a similarity in name with Alcide Le Blond de Saint-Hilaire, nephew of the general who was killed at Wagram, hoaxed his contemporaries for three quarters of a century by making them believe that he had been page to the Emperor and that his private recollections of the Empire were those of a fully competent witness. Madame Saint-Hilaire, who made her entrance meekly enough, lost no time in trying to establish the ways of the former Court; her squabbles for precedence with the wardrobe-women and the attention she required to have given to her affairs, her health, and her misfortunes, were the delight of the household, and even amused the Ladies of the Palace and the Empress. She made a great parade of her title—"First Lady to the Empress," wrote in a tone of equality to "Monsieur le Préfait (*sic*) de la Seine." and used a seal engraved with a complicated shield of arms supported by two unicorns, under a ducal coronet with a unicorn naissant as crest. In order to give this duchess a semblance of occupation, she was invested with the superintendence of the linen and the care of the shawls. She had a colleague of her own rank, one Madame Bassan, the wife of a bookseller who had failed in business, whom Foncier, the jeweller, had recommended as competent to clean jewellery; she was to have charge of the jewel-casket, but, in fact, was not employed any more than was Madame Saint-Hilaire.

The four waiting-women, who come next, were pretty girls who received the title of Dames d'annonce from Year XIV. (end of 1805). They were in the Petits Appartements what the ushers were in the Grands Appartements, and were in waiting two and two by the week. They had to remain, one at the door of the billiard-room, the other in the salon adjoining the bed-chamber, to announce the persons whom the Empress had to see—the Prefect of the Palace with regard to meals, the chamberlain on duty with regard to audiences—to open the door to the Emperor, the Princesses, and the Empress's ladies, and that was all. So soon as the daily audience of the Prefect of the Palace was over, the 'dames d'annonce' were free until the next morning at nine o'clock.

For these services they were paid 3,000 francs a year. The first to be

nominated was Églé Marchery, a young Creole whose fortunes were wrecked by the course of events: she had been taken by Joséphine as a wardrobe-woman in the first instance, but as that post seemed too much beneath her education, this one was created for her. Félicité Longroy, the daughter of one of the Ushers of the Cabinet, who also profited by the measure, was promoted—and had other promotions in consequence—then came a Madame Soustras and a Madame Ducrest de Villeneuve, persons of higher station, who gave rise to no gossip and carried on no intrigues at the Tuileries. Madame Ducrest de Villeneuve was the wife of the secretary-general of the Excise Administration, and niece by marriage of Madame de Genlis. She had a daughter, Georgette Ducrest, whom she contrived to introduce, and who was occasionally admitted to play to the Empress after the divorce. The girl married Bochsa, the then celebrated composer of *La Dansomanie* and *Les Noces de Gamache*, was beggared and deserted by him, lost her voice, which was her livelihood, then tried to earn by her pen, and published *Mémoires sur L'Impératrice Joséphine, la cour de Navarre et la Malmaison*, in which a few instances of personal observation are to be found amid apocryphal documents, fabricated anecdotes, and misrepresented incidents.

It was very little that her mother could have witnessed. Those who were really acquainted with the private life of Joséphine, and who are worth hearing with regard to her, were Madame Mallet, the Wardrobe-keeper, and the four wardrobe-women, Madame Charles, Mademoiselle Aubert, Madame Fourneau, Mademoiselle Avrillon. The wardrobe-maid was of no importance, and frequently changed, but these five, chosen from among a number of others—(for in 1803 and 1804 the following waiting-women were in the service of Madame Bonaparte: Doinel, Loret, Miss Jane Yppliard (English), unmarried, Roque, Poirot and Pérardel married)—these five, settled securely in their places from 1805, with the negress Malvina, Madame Alimane, formed the basis of the domestic life of the palace from 1805. Then there was Madame Mallet, formerly a workwoman in the employment of Madame Germon, the dressmaker; Mademoiselle Aubert, who began in 1802 with 600 francs as wages, and was raised in 1805 to 1,200 francs, had charge of the Empress's

linen, with two workwomen under her, and whom Napoleon knew so well that he afterwards asked Joséphine to let his second wife have her as Wardrobe-keeper; Madame Charles (Mademoiselle Bayeux), formerly waiting-maid to Mademoiselle d'Orléans, who had been placed with Hortense by Madame Campan, sent away by Louis in one of his fits of jealousy, taken back by Joséphine on the 22nd of March, 1805, at 1,800 francs; Madame Fourneau (Marie Louise Lescallier), engaged in 1802 at 600 francs, raised to 1,200 francs in 1805, and Mademoiselle Avrillon, who came at the same wages from the service of Mademoiselle Tascher, where Joséphine had placed her at first. These were the witnesses of the life of the palace, the personages who were really allowed familiarity and taken into confidence. What more ample confidence could there be indeed than a daily toilet of three hours' duration, which required close attention, complicity, infinite care, extreme obligingness? What power must the beautifier gain over a mistress who feels that she is growing old and whose sole desire is to retain the power of pleasing by keeping her youthfulness! How secure those attendants must feel who know the secrets that preserve youth or restore the appearance of it! Not only did Joséphine confide her dresses and jewels to her wardrobe-women, but she told them her most private affairs; she spoke to them of her fears, her fancies, and her wishes; she placed her most confidential and precious letters in their charge; she regarded them as her best and most trustworthy friends, or rather as the only friends she had. The greater part of her left-off wearing-apparel went to them, and was worth a comfortable income to each; they had gratuities by the 1,200, 500, or 600 francs, according to her moods, dowries if they married, pensions after a term of service, and then a fine portrait of their mistress by Sain or Isabey. It has been very justly said that Napoleon was "un homme à valets-de-chambre," because, from the time of the Italian campaign, he could not do without the people he was accustomed to for his personal service; but how much more was Joséphine "la femme à femmes-de-chambre," not only because of the attentions she required, but especially because of her habit of confiding in the inferiors who approached

and surrounded her. However, having got rid of former servants who knew too many dangerous secrets, Joséphine recognized that familiarity was thenceforth forbidden. She made it a study to uphold her rank, treated her women with extreme politeness, did not reprove them if she had to find fault, but punished them by silence which lasted from a day to a week, according to the gravity of the case. She adhered to this amount of patronizing and unfamiliar intercourse so long as she had no great trouble, but, then, somehow, in spite of herself, the distance between the Empress and the maids who served her would be effaced, and only women in the presence of each other were there. Joséphine would then give free expression to her thoughts and fears, but she kept silence concerning her actions, either because she no longer had any to hide, or because she had learned the peril of domestic complicity.

Joséphine had also other confidants elsewhere. Besides the women who were attached to the Household, paid by the State and distinctly in evidence, she, like all Creoles, had about her a lot of coloured women; these were in some vague way illegitimate relations who came and went, their faces and names being hardly known, and yet these persons were absolutely trustworthy; sometimes took terrible responsibilities upon themselves, and their devotion was so complete and sure that, in peril of death, refuge was sought with them. There was Lannoy, the Beauharnais children's nurse in 1793, whose brother transacted all the business of Joséphine and Renaudin; there was Malvina, and Euphémie Lefebvre, Mimi, who came from Martinique with Joséphine in 1779, was afterwards Eugène's nurse, and remained so devoted to the children that Hortense took refuge with her in 1815; there was Madame Duplessis, a distant relation of the Tascher family who brought the Tascher children from Martinique in 1804, and since then had been provided for by Joséphine. All these people came in and went out in the early hours of the day without attracting attention, did all sorts of commissions, were mixed up with a great many affairs, and were all the more discreet because they were ignorant of the importance of these things.

The first process of the toilet was lengthy, for Joséphine had all the scrupulous cleanliness of the Creole women. Every day she took a bath, and her washing apparatus was of the most lavish description, including silver basins, kettles and pails of all sizes, which were taken with her everywhere she went. But this part of the toilet was comparatively simple; it was to the 'making-up' that Joséphine attached supreme importance; to the filling-in of wrinkles, the smoothing of the skin, the effacement of the crow's-feet, the touching-up with colour. In the days of her youth every woman of quality wore rouge; but Joséphine painted to such an extent that in 1804 the white would fall off under her chin in flakes, covering her with a whitish powder: of course she did not admit the cause, indeed it is likely that she did not know it; she would say that the state of her chin was an indication of her health, and when asked how she was, would reply: "Not well. See, my chin is dusty."

She was not content with rougeing the cheek bones merely; she covered almost the whole of her cheeks; but how could those Court play-actors, who were only seen at a distance, do without the make-up? Joséphine carried it too far perhaps: in one year only (1808), she purchased rouge to the amount of 2,749 francs 58 centimes from Martin, 598 francs 52 centimes from Madame Chaumeton, and the same article figures in the bills of Gervais-Chardin and the widow Farjeon and Son. She had so trained Napoleon's eye that he required all the women who appeared before him to wear rouge; so necessary did he consider rouge to full-dress that he rudely rebuked any woman who was without it: "Go and put on rouge, Madame," said he to one lady, "you look like a corpse;" and to another: "What makes you look so pale, are you just out of childbed?" The case is an ordinary one: every man who lives habitually in the society of women who make-up, loses the idea of the natural complexion, and regards artificial colour as an indispensable finish to a woman's dress.

On the other hand, Napoleon had a horror of all perfumes, with the exception of Eau de Cologne, lavender-water, and a few extracts of



JOSEPHINE IN 1807

Painted by Gérard



flowers : Josephine and all the ladies of the Court had to abstain from the use of them.

After all those careful operations, in which she employed her numerous dressing-cases, her boxes of tools of every kind, so to speak, for the teeth, for the hands, for the feet; after having undergone treatment by her pedicure, a German Jew named Tobias Koën, who came every fortnight, wearing a coat similar to that of the valets de chambre and with a sword by his side, and acquitted himself of his task with imperturbable gravity, at a salary of 1,200 francs, Joséphine had herself dressed. Her chemise was of muslin, fine Holland batiste, or cambric-muslin (she had a good many chemises in fact four hundred and ninety-eight), was embroidered at the hem, and the neck and sleeves were trimmed with Mechlin or Valenciennes. The cost of the stuff, in batiste, was reckoned at 15 francs for the plainest, but rose to 36, 40, 50, 100 francs if the lace were Valenciennes, to more if it were Mechlin.

The embroidery on each of these chemises cost 36 francs and the lace trimming from 100 to 200 francs. The demoiselles Lolive, de Beuvry and Co. and Madame Commun-Narrey supplied them. The five hundred chemises need not cause any surprise : that number was hardly sufficient, for Joséphine changed all her under-clothing three times a day.

Her stockings were silk, generally white, seldom pink. In her wardrobe she had one hundred and fifty-eight pairs of white silk, thirty-two of pink and eighteen of flesh-coloured silk : these, supplied by Patin and Tessier, varied in price from 18 to 72 francs a pair, the latter were "extra-fine, in wide open-work of lace and rich embroidery." There was quite an assortment of them : seven different qualities of Paris or Berlin stockings, but the latter were chiefly cotton, most of them white, sometimes of natural colour embroidered in white silk; these cost 30 or 40 francs a pair and were worn under the laced boot. No coloured stockings; six pairs of black and six for half-mourning. Joséphine wore no garters; the newly washed stockings "kept up" of themselves. If there was a ribbon it is not mentioned.

The morning shoes were usually made of kid or in stuff : in kid, silk, or satin, the price was 8 francs a pair. In one year Joséphine ordered and paid for seven hundred and twenty pairs, without reckoning the two hundred and sixty-five pairs remaining from the preceding year. The shoes were all flat, without heels, so thin that they made one with the foot, did not confine, but merely dressed it : satin shoes only; those for wearing out of doors had sandals attached to the sides, crossed over the instep and tied at the back; otherwise the shoes would have come off. Besides, they were not made for walking. Coppe, one of those who supplied the Empress, said to a lady who complained that her shoes split the first time she wore them, "I see what it is : Madame has been walking." Joséphine, who was so justly particular about her beautiful feet, tried all the fashionable shoemakers in turn ; Bourbon oftenest, but also Cholet-Bonnet, Cassagnes, Ringé, Geintzer, Henri, Schalcher, Simon, Legrand, etc. She indulged in no fancies, however, about her shoes; of course excepting those which formed part of a costume and were invented by painters. Very few boots, and those were made of stuff and rarely worn. When travelling, she wore boots of morocco leather or velvet lined with fur over her shoes. Except in that case, the shoe only was worn alike in Paris and in the country.

Joséphine, having had her feet clad, put on a very light corset made of lined cambric-muslin trimmed with Valenciennes, or of piqué lined with cambric-muslin, seldom of white satin lined with silk. Her corsets were very slightly whaleboned, and it was not until 1810 that she wore a busk. Coutant supplied these corsets; the ordinary ones cost 40 francs, those made of satin 50 francs. Then came a plain petticoat of very soft material, fine striped piqué, trimmed with one or two rows of Mechlin or a little flounce of embroidered-muslin, or cambric-muslin embroidered or trimmed with Valenciennes; rarely of muslin. Sometimes, in winter, a petticoat made of knitted cotton edged with lace, but this was an exception, there were but six in the wardrobe.

Nothing else, absolutely nothing. In Joséphine's wardrobe there were

only two pairs of drawers made of flesh-coloured silk to be worn on horseback.

When she had got into a cambric-muslin, fine piqué, or muslin dressing-gown (and she had a great number of all shapes with trimmings and embroideries of all sorts) the wardrobe women admitted Herbault, the valet-de-chambre hairdresser, to the first dressing-room. Herbault was an important personage who presented himself in an embroidered coat and wore a sword. His ostensible pay was at first 1,200 francs, then 1,500 francs a year; but from 1805 he had 6,000 francs a year of supplementary salary and a gratuity of from 1,600 to 1,800 francs. The things he supplied amounted to from 5 to 8,000 francs, and certainly the Empress was not his only customer; however, it was not until 1809, after the divorce, that he aimed at big things, set up as a man-milliner in the rue Neuve-Saint-Augustin, and became one of those 'great men' who gain influence over the habits and customs of Parisian women by exercising irresistible authority in the matter of their hats.

Herbault was not the hairdresser for great occasions; he had a rival, or rather a master, the wonderful Duplan, the artist who had dressed the heads of all the ladies of the Directory. Madame Tallien one day handed him a lace veil worth 8,000 francs; he looked at it, turned it about in his hands, then threw it from him scornfully. "Madame," he said, "it is too wide, I can never dress your head with that in a manner worthy of you and of me," and then, on the entreaty of Thérésia, he took up a pair of scissors and cut and clipped to his taste. He made a rag of the beautiful veil, but a rag which crowned him king of Parisian coiffeurs. Duplan was paid for his services 32,000 francs in 1807, 12,000 in 1808, a similar sum in 1809, without reckoning from eight to ten thousand francs for his wares each year. When the divorce was accomplished, Napoleon took Duplan from Joséphine and placed him with Marie-Louise, at the truly extraordinary salary of 42,000 francs a year—without reckoning presents, and one of these was 12,000 francs in one sum! And so, Duplan's son went into

the École Polytechnique, was made Engineer to the Constructions Maritimes, fought at Antwerp, retired afterwards to his estate near Toulouse, and, from 1842 to 1849, was continuously elected deputy of the Haute-Garonne. It was then proved that he was of noble blood, allied to the La Calprenède family, the handling of the hairbrush notwithstanding.

Herbault and Duplan dressed Joséphine's hair in a variety of complicated ways; in general a curl hung down on the shoulder—this method was called "en repentir"—but everything was tried: a crowd of little curls making the head look like a child's; close bandeaux after the fashion of antique statues, with a close chignon placed high and pointing straight down the back of the head; padded demi-bandeaux, raised at the side, showing the ear and the nape of the neck, and joining in a thick puffed-out chignon. These modes of head-dressing demanded all the more taste and skill on the part of the 'artists' as the material became less abundant: the deficiency had to be supplied, and the rest had to be dyed. Joséphine's hair remained nut-brown to the end of her life, by dint of dyeing, but its rather coarse texture was unchanged. After a certain period the skill of the hairdresser consisted in contriving, for the evening especially —in the daytime the Empress always wore a hat—some arrangement of light and fluffy material, or an adroit grouping of artificial flowers, or the superlative adornment of a very large diadem. The Creole headdress, a Madras handkerchief carelessly knotted at the side, which so well became the Vicomtesse de Beauharnais, and even, at first, the wife of the First Consul, had to be discarded very soon. The grave, the serious, the severe was requisite, and all the more difficult to obtain because it had to be adapted to a face which was not remarkable and had not regular features, but charmed by its liveliness and sweet expression. No wonder the hairdresser was an important personage.

These beginnings of the toilet took some time. If the Ladies of the Palace presented themselves while the hairdresser was still there, they were frequently admitted to the dressing-room and took part in the grave

deliberation on the costume of the day. The first wardrobe-woman and her assistants brought in large baskets which contained several gowns, hats, and shawls, and the discussion was opened.

In summer, the gowns were muslin, batiste, and cambric-muslin; in winter, woollen stuffs or velvet. There was plenty of choice in summer dress, for, when the last inventory of the wardrobe was taken, in 1809, the number set down was two hundred and two, and it must not be supposed, because these were white and of material which would be called plain, that their price was small: the cambric-muslin and muslin gowns cost from 500, to 2,000 francs, according to the embroidery, in the latter there was grace, invention, exquisite art: the work in every instance was incomparably superior to anything that is done in these days. Most of the muslins and cambrics came from India: the latter were without 'dressing,' soft, light, filmy, of a tone less harsh, more melting than the white of batiste, muslin, and lawn respectively, a white with a more dulcet note in the symphony. Gueinot-Toily of Brussels, Commun-Narrey and Hind of Paris supplied all this; not Leroy; Schœlcher supplied the muslins, Robert the batistes, and Mesdemoiselles Lolive and de Beuvry everything, always.

Many of the winter gowns were cashmere; thirty-three are included in the inventory of 1809, exclusive of the long walking-coats called 'juives' and hunting-coats. The open dresses (redingotes) which Joséphine wore on winter mornings over white or cashmere gowns, were of various materials. In velvet there was every shade of colour and all kinds of trimming; deep yellow corded velvet bordered with Astrachan, nacarat velvet with a deep collar of ermine; green velvet bordered with ermine with a fichu of crêpe striped with gold; black velvet lined with pink satin, imperial blue velvet lined with white satin; white corded velvet lined with spotted velvet with a clasp of agate and real pearls, amaranth velvet lined with green plush, nacarat velvet lined with white satin. In satins there was equal variety, and in levantines (silken material) the same. But this was not enough: for days when the Empress wished to be more richly

attired, gowns suited to the sumptuousness of the redingotes were required, and then came ermine trimmings, ermine on the gown, ermine on the over-dress : a gown of lilac satin worn under a short over-dress of black velvet with ruches of gold-hemmed muslin ; a white satin gown under a chamois-coloured velvet redingote, a lavender satin gown under a rich green velvet with a belt of gold set with cameos ; a gown of chamois-coloured satin under pansy velvet with buttons of oriental topaz, and girdled by a gold chain with an amethyst medallion clasp, and lastly, to close the ermine-border series, a white satin gown, with a white corded velvet redingote, and a girdle of gold filigree encrusted with real pearls, the clasp, the buttons and the tassels of sapphires and real pearls !

And there were almost as many gowns and redingotes trimmed with other costly furs.

The Empress, having made her choice among her six hundred and seventy-six gowns, next selected her 'cachemire.' How many had she ? Some foolish woman has said four hundred, but the number was sixty in all ; five were amaranth, twelve red, seventeen white, nine yellow, six of different colours, three blue, two black, and five striped. True, these shawls were the most beautiful that had been seen in Europe, and some of them had cost ten thousand francs, but the ordinary price was from three to four thousand. Is this too high a price for the grace these shawls lend to a woman, especially to Joséphine, who was constantly arranging her cachemire, letting it slip off, drawing it on, draping it, and on seeing that look of longing which she knew so well in the eyes of a visitor, would transfer it to the lady's shoulders with an enfolding movement that was grace itself?

Then came the bonnet or hat, bedecked with feathers or flowers ; this she wore in the morning always, and sometimes, when she was tired, in the evening.

There were two hundred and fifty-two articles of headgear all different in shape, colour, and trimming. Helmet-shaped hats, velvet, satin, Leghorn, black, white, and yellow straw hats, bonnets in every kind of



JOSEPHINE IN 1808

Picture by Lethiere

Musée de Versailles



material, toques in velvet, tulle, satin, and cachemire, all different in shape, colour and trimming! White feathers prevailed, but there were also bird-of-paradise, black heron, and peacock's feathers, and every variety of flowers. Very few turbans, only three.

Let it not be supposed from these figures, that Joséphine had "the habit of never parting with anything" which has been imputed to her, and that she hoarded her clothes of whatever kind. Twice a year she went up to the wardrobe-rooms and discarded a great part, indeed the greater part, of her toilet possessions. In 1809, she gave away seventy-two fine pieces of lace; sixteen Court dresses out of forty-nine; three hundred and sixty-one out of six hundred and seventy-six gowns, tunics or 'juives,' seventeen out of sixty 'cachemires,' three out of forty cashmere gowns (one to the Gobelins), one hundred and forty-six out of two hundred and fifty-two articles of headgear; seven hundred and eighty-five pairs of shoes and boots out of the same number, that is to say, the whole!

She gave away not only articles in use, but everything new that had ceased to please her; out of one hundred and twenty-two pieces of new material she gave away thirty-nine, and it was not only to her women that she made presents of this sort: Madame Mere, the Queen of Westphalia, the Queen of Naples, and the Princess of Baden accepted gowns, shawls and over-dresses which had been worn, not to speak of materials in the piece.

From this, we may judge what the annual consumption of the wardrobe was. In one year, Joséphine bought twenty-three great bales of lace, seven Court dresses, one hundred and thirty-six gowns, twenty cachemires, seventy-three corsets, forty-eight pieces of various stuffs, eighty-seven hats, seventy-one pairs of silk stockings, nine hundred and eighty pairs of gloves, five hundred and twenty pairs of shoes. The payments amounted to 320,816 francs 56 centimes, but a large sum was carried over. The expenses in arrear were such, in fact, that to form a correct notion of Joséphine's expenditure on dress we must take the six years in round figures—setting aside the payments of debts which became obligatory

every two years, and in certain instances exceeded a million. Thus we find that, in six years, lace to the value of 225,906 francs 18 centimes was bought from Vanderbocht, Lesueur, de Rens and Vandessel (this does not include any of the 'grandes dentelles' paid for by the Emperor's privy purse); and silks to the value of 312,558 francs 68 centimes from Fillion, Le Normand, Vacher and Nourtier. "Modes" and Court dresses from Mademoiselle Despeaux, Herbault, Leroy, Duplan, Binelli and Bertin cost 1,096,875 francs 27 centimes; the making of dresses and accessories supplied, especially by Madame Germon, came to 102,811 francs 46 centimes; the workwomen of the Wardrobe were paid 61,408 francs 38 centimes; and linen supplied by Commun-Narrey, Mesdemoiselles Lolive and de Beuvry 740,386 francs 37 centimes. Artificial flowers cost 85,893 francs 50 centimes; crêpes and ribbons supplied by Kreisler, Scribe-Brémard and Richard Lenoir cost 130,078 francs 77 centimes; furs, furnished by the widow Toulet only, 43,599 francs 92 centimes; gloves and perfumery 57,184 francs 33 centimes; foot-gear, shoes and stockings, 52,615 francs 77 centimes. The great expenditure was in 'modes,' silks, the making of gowns, robes and Court dresses: this amounted in six years to 1,573,653 francs 79 centimes, without reckoning debts, without including any part of the toilets for the Coronation or the great official ceremonies: to these the Emperor allotted special credits.

Leroy received 766,476 francs 73 centimes: he was not, as it has been believed, Joséphine's only 'couturier,' although he was the most important, and renowned, as he well deserved to be. Leroy had that sort of genius in his art (in a sense the most personal of all) which is sometimes found among men whose instinct, taste and vocation for dressing and beautifying woman are such that they succeed better than women themselves, and sink the idea of their sex.

Leroy did not overcharge for making: the figure was 18 francs for a gown, even a Court dress.—In 1750, the fashionable dressmakers' charge was 12 livres (14 francs 40 centimes), the increase was therefore inconsiderable.—But Leroy made his profit on materials and trimming, and his prices

for gowns ran up to 2,000 and 3,000 francs. Thus his bills against the Empress reached the figure of 160,000 francs a year. Even this he regarded as no great thing, and actually dared to complain to the Emperor himself, as the latter has related. "One day," said he, "when I was inspecting a family trousseau supplied by him, he ventured to attack me, who am certainly not easy of access (à qui certes on ne mangeait pas dans la main). He did what nobody else in France would have dared to attempt; he undertook to demonstrate most abundantly that I did not give the Empress Joséphine enough, that it was becoming impossible to dress her at the price. I stopped him in the midst of his impertinent eloquence with one look which struck him dumb."

Joséphine, on the contrary, apologized for not spending enough money! In 1809, after various stormy liquidations, she seemed to yield to the injunctions of the Emperor, and resolved to put her toilet affairs under some sort of rule. Then she installed as 'intendante' a certain Madame Hamelin, who was to have the ordering and receiving of all articles of dress: this person had been for a long time in the service of Princess Pauline in a similar capacity, but had left her on the 23rd of September 1808. In the end, far from checking the existing expenses, Madame Hamelin invented expedients for entering into fresh ones, and profited so largely by the weakness of her mistress that Joséphine gave her in one year seventy-five gowns and a cachemire of great value; but at the beginning of her stewardship she really did strive to keep the charges down to the maximum fixed by the Empress. This maximum was 7,000 francs monthly for Leroy, and certain passages in the following letter written by him to Madame Hamelin reveals his way of dealing with Joséphine and how Joséphine took it. "Have the goodness, Madame, I beg of you, to ask Her Majesty's permission to present my very humble respect to her and to entreat her not to think of me what she says, that I think her custom too inconsiderable to concern myself about it. Can the Empress believe that one is master of the feelings which she inspires! So it is you, Madame, whom I ask to be so good as to remove that thought,

for it exists only in Her Majesty's words. I beg of you also at the same time to say just one word of Her Majesty's health in each letter you may have the kindness to address to me. That word is the first need of the soul; pray then remember it. You have received the little maximum of the month; I acknowledge to you that, but for your orders, I should not have continued to send according to the fixed sum enjoined by Her Majesty. You see, Madame, that it would be difficult to continue at 7,000 francs; we should always be in arrears, and it would even give me a great deal of trouble in the keeping of my books. I request then, Madame, that when I send you the total for the month, the 7,000 francs may be entered on account, so as not to complicate the entries."

Is not the whole man in this; the flattery of his customers, the contempt of the 'couturier' for whomsoever does not pay the whole of his charge, and the mode in which he imposes his will and gives his orders. 84,000 francs, fie! If the Empress wishes to regain the consideration of M. Leroy she must spend at least double that sum, and just this she did. Her plans of economy were abandoned, she forgot "the little maximum" and her bill for the year amounted to 142,314 francs 10 centimes.

* * *

How did the Empress meet this, and what were her ordinary resources? In fact, her allowance for dress was fixed at 360,000 francs; it was not until 1809 that it was raised to 450,000 francs; but she paid by drafts on the Cassette, supplementary grants on various occasions, and through her own personal revenues from 1804 to 1809, 3,444,632 francs 57 centimes on that account, that is to say nearly 600,000 francs annually: this however does not make more than the half of her real expenditure, for each year her debts accumulated and, almost every year, the Emperor was obliged to come to the rescue. In Year XII. he paid 701,873 francs; in 1806, 650,000 francs; in 1807, 391,090 francs; in 1809, 60,000 francs; in 1810,

made an end, 1,400,000 francs : altogether 3,202,957 francs. Those figures bring the Empress's general expenditure, almost solely for dress, up to 6,647,580 francs 57 centimes : eleven hundred thousand francs a year.

This amount would be inexplicable, even with the wildest prodigality, were it not that jewellers figure in the Toilet accounts ; the jewels bought representing 1,625,664 francs 60 centimes, almost the half of the amount paid by Joséphine, and nearly as much of the debts paid by the Emperor. All the great jewellers and goldsmiths of Paris—and other places—boasted of this amazing client. Biennais, Depresle, Friese, Marguerite, Foncier, Fister, Nitot, Pitaux, Cablat, Belhate, Perret, Tourrier, Messin, the brothers Marx, Conrado, Hollander, Lelong, Meller, Mellerio-Meller, the watchmakers Bréguet, Lépine and Mugnier, Capperone and Theibaker, cameo-sellers, and Oliva and Scotto, coral sellers !

One of these jewellers, Foncier, was fully in Joséphine's confidence. She sent her diamonds to him on the report of Bonaparte's death in Egypt being raised,—she proposed to seek safety from the claims of her creditors and also from those of the Bonaparte family ; she took her waiting-women on his recommendation ; she lent him her powerful patronage in obtaining an exchange broker's place for one of his sons-in-law from the Minister of Finance ; she made a match between his daughter and Colonel Defrance, escort-equerry to the Emperor ; she took his advice in her purchases, exchanges, and general traffic, and he was not over solicitous for his own interest in these matters.

Foncier having retired, Nitot had the chief of the Empress's custom. In 1805, he had been commissioned to convey to Rome the tiara presented by the Emperor to the Pope, which still figures among the treasures of the Vatican as French goldsmiths' work : he took with him a parcel of jewels as his legitimate 'pacotille' (a certain quantity of goods which each officer or sailor was allowed to put on board in order to sell it for his own profit), passed through Milan where Bonaparte was being crowned as King of Italy, did good business with the Queen, received the title of jeweller to the Empress and was added to her household shortly afterwards ; at least

his seal bears the crowned eagle with the exergue 'Maison de l'Impératrice;' but although he was jeweller by appointment to Joséphine, he was not, as we have seen, the only one who supplied her with jewellery.

It is surprising that the Empress was not diverted from buying jewellery by her personal use of the most magnificent gems in the world, the Crown jewels of France : she might wear, when she pleased, the great suit of diamonds—crown, diadem, necklace, comb, ear-rings, bracelets, rose-girdle, rivière in eight rows of collets—that suit which was valued at 3,709,583 francs 92 centimes—she had the suit of oriental rubies, and the suit of turquoises, and the suit of pearls valued at 570,107 francs; five millions' worth of jewels. Did she not see that all her purchases were poor by the side of these splendid things, or was she conscious that those marvels were only lent to her and might escape her hold? Was it for this reason that, from the time of the campaign of Italy, she accumulated jewellery which was her own, hers only, not to be taken from her, to form a reserve and a treasure? But need we even seek for a reason? Did she not buy these jewels solely because their glitter attracted her, their design pleased her taste, because this or that was pretty or she thought it so, and fancied it? She owned some jewels of great value, for instance the diamond necklace valued in her inventory, with the pears and the two buttons, at 541,200 francs, and without them at more than 700,000 francs when Hortense wanted to dispose of it in 1829; the suit of opals and diamonds valued at 258,000 francs, the suit of emeralds and diamonds valued at 178,000 francs, the bandeau of pearls valued at 148,000 francs, the necklace of three rows of pearls valued at 262,000 francs, the diadem of diamonds—its centre stone alone was worth 165,000 francs, and the whole was valued at 1,032,000 francs. She personally possessed, taken at the valuer's valuation—always at least a third below the selling price—4,354,255 francs' worth of jewels of importance—pearls, diamonds and coloured stones—but, apart from these, who could tell what sums had been paid for the thousands of things crammed into her jewel boxes, things worn once, perhaps, things certainly never



JOSEPHINE IN 1809

Water-colour by Isabey

Musée Carnavalet, Paris



worn; hundreds of rings, bracelets, waist clasps, necklaces made of everything that can be polished, and of all the substances possible to be strung on a wire; suits of agate, silver beads, gold beads, cornelian beads, carved pebbles, turquoises, malachite, scarabæi, carved coral and real pearls, pink coral, crimson coral, coral balls, steel, jet, carved plum-stones and cherry-stones! The jewellers grew bewildered in counting these and could not be relied on for their value. A great number were merely curiosities, things which are bought at a high price and have no market value, or next to none. And then, Joséphine had her jewellery altered and re-set constantly; she trafficked in exchanging, re-selling, re-buying, paying her jewellers on account for what she called "the reform of her jewel-casket," and taking ten sets of ornaments for one with which she parted in this way.

All this revealed one side of her nature, and supplied a fair test of her character. Among those jewels there were many which ought to have reminded her of such great events, of such glorious deeds, of persons respected or loved; of the continuous rise of her own fortune; among those jewels were the ransoms of cities, princes, and republics, the gifts of Popes and Kings, anniversary presents, pledges of a love whose successive tokens she ought to have cared to preserve: not one of them was left intact as it had been given to her. She had them all changed, metamorphosed, a necklace made into a belt, ear-rings into ear-bobs, sent the gold and silver to the melting-pot, sorted the stones according to her own taste and attached no sentiment or reminiscence to any of them. Where is that little filigree locket, the only present of the general of Vendémiaire to the Vicomtesse de Beauharnais, the most precious, the most rare of all the jewels owned by the Empress, what did she do with it? The locket was of no value, it did not sparkle. She parted with it in a lot of things exchanged for a fancy stone.

And those stones without a story, those things which utter no speech to her mind and strike no chord in her memory, which are nothing but jewels, the mere fact that they are jewels inspires her with a sort of

craze, an unbounded pleasure in looking at them, handling them, adorning, nay, covering herself with them, and passing their ever glittering stream through and through her fingers. Such as she was when, just married to the Vicomte de Beauharnais, she carried her wedding trinkets in her pocket so that she might have the pleasure of handling them as she walked; such as she was on the return from Italy, when, at Malmaison, she displayed the fine things she had brought back with her to the Demoiselles de Vergennes, she continued to be when she had all her jewel-cases, too many for Marie-Antoinette's jewel-coffer to hold, spread out on a big table, and for hours together—her happiest hours—occupied herself in opening and shutting the morocco-leather and velvet boxes.

Joséphine was not more accessible to dressmakers and jewellers than she was to other people. To that Salon des Marchands which looked out on the Carrousel, and adjoined the Petits Appartements, all that was pretty, elegant, and rare among the inventions of the Parisian tradespeople flowed continuously. The Empress passed through, said she would buy, but did not care to ask the price, and cared still less to pay. This was her 'way,' and those were fine times for the vendors; they did good business.

Madame Dubarry had an action brought against her, on the death of Louis XV., by Cramer the Jew for the price of curiosities and art-objects which he had left in her ante-chamber and she had disposed of in presents, freaks, and gallantries. At a later date it was Marie-Antoinette and the story of the Diamond Necklace; after that Madame Tallien and the women who were made rich by the Directory; but none came up to Joséphine. Her toilet being completed, she resorted to her favourite amusement: it is true that modistes and jewellers made the most by it, and that the lute makers, painters, sculptors, booksellers, printsellers, cabinet makers, and china-ware vendors received large orders, for things of practical utility, at their warehouses; but everything that did not require a van, but might be carried under a cloak, all sorts of fancy articles, were heaped up in the Salon des Marchands. Many a needy aspirant artist brought a drawing, a carving in ivory, a bit of mosaic, and having waited six months, came to claim the

price each had set upon his own work, or at least an indemnity or an alms! And how many mechanical-toy vendors, came there? They brought their masterpieces, wound them up in the presence of the Empress whom they amused, and who could not resist the pleasure of having them exhibited for the entertainment of her visitors. Thus a toy would be admitted into the apartments, a child would be pleased and delighted with it and Josèphine would give it to the child without a thought of the price. That she should give beautiful and expensive toys to the children of the great officers of the Empire, to her grandchildren and her nieces was all very well, but poor petitioners who had brought their children in order to soften the heart of the Empress, were considerably disconcerted, when, instead of the patent of a pension, or a liberal gratuity, she bestowed upon them an artificial orange-tree, a monkey that played the fiddle, or a flowering shrub peopled with singing-birds.

The matter became so serious that at the Council of Administration of the Household on the 28th of February, 1806, the Emperor dictated the following decision: "All persons belonging to the Chamber of the Empress are forbidden to receive into the Apartments any articles of furniture, pictures, jewels or other effects brought by tradespeople, or private individuals; these tradespeople or private individuals, as well as the articles of furniture, pictures, and effects coming by any way whatsoever are to be sent back to the Intendant."

The Emperor did even better at the same time, and, in order to stop the scandal of the exorbitant prices by which the Empress was victimized, he carried out his measures himself. Hitherto, on the tradesmen's bills being furnished, reductions on the whole were ordered before payment, but the system of verification differed for each article and ten per cent at most was taken off. In 1806, the Emperor having paid his wife's debts for the fourth time, the reductions proposed by the Lady of the Bedchamber were increased by Napoleon himself to twenty per cent; thus, in 1807, on 465,291 francs 52 centimes, a reduction of 75,217 francs

37 centimes; in 1808, on 458,700 francs 06 centimes, 95,368 francs 50 centimes; in 1809, on 914,764 francs 70 centimes, 166,747 francs 37 centimes. When it came to the settlement of arrears it was still worse: in 1808, the Emperor gave 650,000 francs in discharge of the debts and struck 112,375 francs 47 centimes off the bills presented; the 1,400,000 francs of 1809 had to suffice for 1,898,098 francs 98 centimes demanded by the purveyors: an abatement of five hundred thousand francs! The shopkeepers made a good profit nevertheless; not one of those who had declared that they were ruined failed to return to the charge, asserting, as before, that the article now offered was made expressly for the Empress, was in fact unique and that she must have it. She took it and everything went on as usual.

Somebody has said that Napoleon "liked debts to be contracted because they kept up a state of dependence," and adds that "his wife gave him very extensive satisfaction in this respect: in order to keep in his hands a means of alarming her he never would put her affairs in order." We have seen how much truth there is in that statement: at least twice before the Empire, and four times during the Empire, Napoleon wished to proceed to a general liquidation of the old debts, to set his wife afloat, so to speak, in order that she might meet her current expenditure with the allowance he made her and which he was continually augmenting. He called for a statement of the exact sum of the debts, but Joséphine, who in fact did not know and had never enquired into their amount, set it down, almost at haphazard, at a figure which did not reach one half of the total. "Why not acknowledge it all?" urged her confidants.—"No, no," she replied, "he would kill me, he would kill me! I will pay out of my savings!"

We have the narrative of the scene that preceded the liquidation of 1806 at first hand. The Empress was in tears; the Emperor perceived this immediately; he saw her red eyes, and said to Duroc: "These women have been crying, I am sure there are debts, try to find out what is the matter." Duroc, who had secured Joséphine's confidence, went to her and

told her: "The Emperor is sure you are in debt he wants to know the amount" Joséphine admitted with copious tears, that she did, in fact, owe 400,000 francs. "Ah!" said Duroc, "the Emperor thought it was 800,000" "No, I swear to you, but since I must tell you, it is 600,000" "Are you quite sure it is not more?" "Quite sure!" "Very well, then I will speak to him." He went back to the Emperor, and told him he had found Joséphine crying, and in despair. "Ah! she's crying! She feels her fault, then! So much the better! But you will see that her debts are enormous. She is capable of owing a million." "Oh! no, not a million, Sire." "Well then, how much?" "Well, supposing it were 800,000 francs?" "That would be none the less scandalous; for wretched trash, to let herself be robbed by a lot of rogues. I must turn out such and such persons, such and such shopkeepers must be forbidden ever to present themselves at my door." "But, Sire, it is only 600,000 francs." Only that, do you say? That seems nothing to you? I don't like this sort of game. Come! I will speak to her." They went into the salon where the women were, and Napoleon kept away from his wife; he allowed her to pass before him on going to supper. She was agitated, and tears were in her eyes; he said nothing. After she had taken her place at table, he came and stood behind her chair and said, speaking close to her ear. "So, Madame, you are in debt." Then she began to sob. "You owe a million." "No, Sire, I swear to you I only owe 600,000, francs." "*Only* that, you say, you regard it as a trifle?" He added a few words of reproach and she sobbed more than ever. Then he spoke into the other ear: "Come, come, Joséphine, *ma petite*, don't cry. Be comforted." And the debts were paid.

After this, how explicable, simple, and natural the famous scene between Napoleon and Mademoiselle Despeaux, the modiste, which has been represented as a terrible act of tyranny, appears. At Saint-Cloud one morning the Emperor came unexpectedly into the blue salon communicating with the bedchamber of the Empress. There he found a fat woman whom he did not know; she approached him and muttered something unintelligible.

"What is your name?" he asked. "My name is Despeaux." "What do you do?" "I am a modiste." In a fury he entered the Empress's room, where she was having her hair dressed, and also taking a foot-bath: "Who brought this woman here? Who let her into the apartment?" As Mademoiselle Despeaux had come of her own accord nobody answered, and the wardrobe-women fled before the storm. Napoleon returned to his own quarters, called for Duroc who was not to be found, then for Savary, and the latter, taking the orders he received literally, had the offending modiste arrested by two special gendarmes. Duroc then arrived on the scene and begged Savary to let her go. "Certainly not," replied Savary, "I shall do nothing of the sort. You would not be so indulgent if she were *your* wife's milliner; this same woman is ruining me. Now I have my opportunity for revenge, and I am not such a fool as to miss it. You would do the same yourself if it were Leroy instead of Mademoiselle Despeaux, for it is from him your wife buys all her finery." However, the fat Despeaux had only to go so far as the avenue between her gendarmes; there Duroc sent orders that she was to be allowed to get into her carriage.

Napoleon intended this lesson much more for his wife than for the violator of etiquette, the temptress without a permit; but it was thrown away, like every other lesson, like his remonstrances with Joséphine upon her debts, and her own vows. The stream continued to flow, the vendors still came, Joséphine still took their wares without paying, and that indefinitely. It was so convenient! A god always came down from his car at the nick of time to get her rid of her creditors; a few tears, mock or real, cost so little, and gain so much. But this was not play-acting on her part, she contracted debts just as she breathed. She was one of those women who unconsciously fulfil a sort of mission in their social sphere by their expenditure and reckless waste, to the joy of shopkeepers, the honour and glory of fashion, and the renown of French taste. It is for these women who do not know how to add up figures that the manufacturer exerts himself, and the workman-artist produces his masterpieces. It is for them that all of the pretty, the luxurious, and the absurd in the *article-*

MADAME DUCREST DE VILLENEUVE



Paris is invented, and it is a great thing that they exist to buy it—and even to pay for it—sometimes.

Such was Joséphine, and if, after his protest, Napoleon paid, it was not wholly out of weakness towards his wife; but also because he knew that such follies are useful, profitable and even necessary; for without women, and those the women who spend money and incur debt recklessly, what would Paris be?

He was far more wroth when the money went out of France, and Joséphine, to gratify her vanity, violated the laws of the Empire and the laws of the Court, by choosing to attire herself in English articles of commerce. During the continental blockade, when France and almost Europe were closed to them she would have these things, and she was ready to resort to trickery of any kind in order to get them in clandestinely. She had a correspondent at Frankfort who hid packets of merchandise in the post-chaises of officers who were employed as couriers, at the risk of compromising them. She herself had her carriages stuffed with goods on passing the Rhine. She had cachemires and Turkish stuffs brought over the frontier of the Alps for her, but the attempt frequently failed; her packets were seized and destroyed without any consideration for their destined recipient, by express command of the Emperor. Nevertheless, she did it again and again, requisitioning all who were going to the land of the forbidden fruit, whether soldiers or diplomats, as her commissioners. Was she not a true woman in this also, and was it not just like her to risk the real displeasure of the Emperor, his reproaches, even his violent anger, perhaps even to run the risk of exhausting his patience, with inevitable disaster as the result? But was it not also fine on her part that she did not descend to any other form of deceit?

* * *

After her toilet was made Joséphine found time to transact the current business of audiences with her private secretary, to put her signature to

patents and decisions, and to carry on her very restricted correspondence, which was almost entirely addressed to her daughter, her son, a few relations and some private female friends. This correspondence was generally belated, but almost entirely autograph. She could not trust her readers, who, beyond their pretty faces, and their desire to attract the Emperor's attention, had no talent except for the harp, the piano, and dancing, and who read no better than they wrote : Mademoiselle Lacoste, Mademoiselle Guillebeau, or Madame Gazzani, it was all the same. She had therefore either to write herself or to employ Deschamps. He was an old friend.

Joséphine had known Deschamps in 1787, at Fontainebleau, where he was secretary to M. de Montmorin, Governor of the Château. He was well paid also : 12,000 francs on the budget of the Empress's Household, as much on that of the Emperor's Household as 'reporter of petitions,' a sinecure. In addition, he wrote verses for the lyric theatres and for the *Almanach des Muses*, words for oratorios such as *Saül* and *la Prise de Jéricho*, and even the libretto of *Les Bardes*. Thus he became associated with the triumph of Lesueur, and touched the edge of fame : but he did not care about it; he rhymed for musicians, as he translated for booksellers and sang at Vaudeville dinners. He had great need of money, and his chief consideration was how much he might make in these various ways.

He was careful not to wear out his credit, but maintained a reserved demeanour towards the tribe of petitioners, keeping to his secretary's business. He it was who composed appropriate verses on the fêtes and anniversaries which were celebrated at the Malmaison theatre, just as Desprez was the poet of Saint-Leu, and, later, Alissan de Chazet of Trianon. But his ordinary function was much more delicate than the stringing of adulatory rhymes; every fortnight he had to take the commands of the Empress respecting the documents drawn up by Ballouhey, the 'secretary of expenses;' these comprised an enumeration of the tradesmen's bills as they were presented for payment. The Empress wrote at sight with her own hand

the decision, the 'bon à payer,' the figure which she consented to pay on a reduction, or the instalment which she gave: most frequently, except in the case of small bills, she wrote the word 'ajourné.' At the foot she placed her 'bon' and signed. With Ballouhey, who was very strict in accounts, she probably would have had discussions; there was nothing of that sort to be feared with Deschamps; therefore she had relieved Ballouhey of this part of the secretary's work.

Deschamps drew up the letters addressed to Ballouhey for those donations from the Privy Purse which were not properly granted to applicants. This 'service' of the Privy Purse was complicated and requires to be explained in detail. It is a tradition that "the benefits she dispensed caused Joséphine to contract the greater part of her debts," and, although we already know all about the nature of those debts, it is necessary to reckon up what her beneficence really did cost her.

Joséphine no doubt took from her 'Toilette' the funds for the pensions assigned to old or new servants, and the paid-for pupils in the respective institutions of Madame Campan, Madame Gay Vernon, and MM. Vigogne and Piorette; but these pensions, and all gifts and gratuities charged on the 'Toilette', amounted during the six years to a total of 516,532 francs 76 centimes; that is to say, 86,000 francs a year; moreover the greater part of these expenses is placed under the heading of 'Sums remitted to Her Majesty.' No detailed account of them was kept. Now, if some of this money was disbursed in gifts personally bestowed, it is certain that four-fifths of it, from 1806, was paid to the architect of Malmaison.

The special account of the Privy Purse properly so-called, was kept with unerring regularity by Ballouhey, and was always paid over and above. It is true that the Emperor provided for this, and on each occasion augmented the funds; he did the same for the 'Toilette,' without stopping the debts however, but there never was either deficit or arrears in the case of the Privy Purse. In 1805, Napoleon fixed the 'Cassette' at 6,000 francs a month (72,000 francs annually); in 1806, he raised it to 10,000 francs, and in 1809 to 15,000. At each 'grand voyage,' he allotted between 80,000 and

100,000 francs for the item of alms-extraordinary solely ; all the charges of journeys, sojourns, gratuities, and presents were paid by the Household fund.

The 'Cassette' was divided into three parts ; 'Secours' allotted personally by Her Majesty on verbal or written application ; 'Bienfaits de Sa Majesté l'Impératrice et Reine,' distributed by the Lady of the Bedchamber who took Joséphine's commands for these ; and 'Pensions.'

The 'Secours' given by the Empress were granted only after inquiry had been made either by the First Valet de chambre, by Madame Duplessis, or by M. Danès de Montardat, Joséphine's uncle by marriage. Many of these applications, proceeding from persons of position, were made through the Gentleman in Waiting or one of the Ladies of the Palace.

The 'Bienfaits,' in the department of the Lady of the Bedchamber, were dispensed as proposed by her or rather by her secretary, after inquiry made by a salaried visitor, Madame Hardancourt (née Boyvin), in small sums of from 20 to 70 francs. The Empress indicated the sums, the secretary of the Lady-in-Waiting inscribed the amount of each donation on a slip detached from a book kept for the purpose, and Ballouhey paid.

Small though the amount of each 'Bienfait' might be, the total, including the 'Secours' also, was respectable : 4 to 6,000 francs for the winter months. There were months when this figure was tenfold increased (81,673 francs in October 1808—121,828 francs in December 1809), but these were exceptional cases, justified by a special grant from the Emperor for that purpose, and the average—allowance being made for unforeseen receipts and expenses—fell short of 3,000 francs a month, the summer compensating for the winter.

Every condition, profession, and race had their representatives on these lists of suppliants : old people of both sexes, workmen without work, widows burdened with children, Creoles from St. Domingo, unmarried or married women belonging to ruined families of the nobility ; a great number of nobles ; on one single list of 'benefits' amounting to 4,000 francs one

hundred and thirty-one persons figure as recipients, among these are Mesdames Lechat de Mineraye, de Marchais, de Beaune, de Vaudricourt, de Druez, de la Bretaiche, de la Meline, de Chavigny, Sablonet de Mmuty, de Case, de Chaponay de Jaucourt, de Boisset, de Rivolle, de la Grange, de Bligny, de la Saussaye, de Pallugay, de Montalay, de la Feuillade! This list of petitioners reads like a list of ladies presented at Court.

The 'Pensions' formed the last chapter of demands on the Cassette and tended to absorb it entirely. They increased unreasonably each year, jumping up from 25,000 francs in 1805 to 56,000 francs in 1806, 85,000 francs in 1807, 155,480 francs in 1809. Naturally, when once acquired they became a right; and, just as it occurred under the old régime, the children of the pensioners insisted on a right of reversion and held themselves free from any obligation of gratitude. All the resources which might have been so usefully employed in accidental aid were thus absorbed by degrees, but, on the other hand, how were certain appeals to be resisted, how could one who had risen to so great a height of fortune refuse to make one's former companions sure of daily bread? Almost all Joséphine's pensioners belonged to this category. First, there were people from the colonies; a few names which were known: Madame O'Gorman, Madame Mantelle, Madame Dillon; then bourgeois names: Chaurand, Crusand, Leloutre, Mauger; these had been among the most wealthy. After them came 'Persons whom Her Majesty has known,' and the largest share fell to these. By the aid of those names only, almost the whole history of the Vicomtesse de Beauharnais might be re-constructed, and the social spheres through which she had passed be re-animated. Madame Duplessis, Mademoiselle Lannoy, Madame Lefebvre, Madame de la Rochefoucauld-Bayers-Mammont with her two nieces, Madame de Montulé and Mademoiselle Marliani, mean Martinique and St. Domingo. Madame de Montmorin, *née* Morin de Banneville, who has the largest pension, 3,600 francs, means Fontainebleau. The various associations of Paris are represented by Madame de la Rochelambert, *née* Lostanges, Madame de Pardaillan de Launay, Madame Cazotte,

née Roignan, the prophet's widow; Mademoiselle Carman de Saint-Étienne, Madame de Barruel-Beauvert, Madame de Geslin, Madame de Gercy, Madame de Grasse, Madame Maillé de Brezé, *née* Joly de Fleury, Madame de Guerchy, *née* du Roux de Sigy, the Ambassador's daughter-in-law Madame de Mordant-Massiac, *née* de Bongars, Madame de Signemont, Madame de Villers-Vaudey, *née* Jourdain de Saint-Sauveur, Madame de Villefort, Mesdames de Verey, Madame de la Tournée-Polastron, Madame de Luynes de Fontenelles, Madame de Cavagnac, M. de Goyon, M. de Saint-Pern, M. de Girardin, M. Dieudonné de France, M. de Montboissier-Beaufort-Canillac,—and how many others might be enumerated!

There were also a few minor officers of the Households of the King and the princes, three women who had nursed the children of Louis XVI., a few officers of the Royal Hunt, and some of the readers to the King's aunts, Mesdames de France, and then came the commonalty: infirm old women, female penitents, officers' widows, young people whose education was paid for; finally the anonymous recipients of charity: 21,000 francs a year for 'the bread of the poor' at Saint-Cloud, 960 francs at Sèvres, 2,880 francs to the orphanage for girls in the Rue du Pot-de-Fer, 1,000 francs to the parochial charities of the Madeleine, 2,400 francs to the ladies of the Maternity Society. This was an obligation upon sovereignty, inseparable from that supreme rank, due to the parishes and to the institutions of official 'assistance.' But the whole of it, 'secours,' pensions and alms never exceeded the sum allotted for those purposes. If the Empress assigned a rather large donation to anyone who interested her especially, the Lady of the Bedchamber distributed just so much the less among the ordinary petitioners. It is traditional—and the legend has even received official sanction in the form of a marble statue—that Joséphine took a pre-eminent part in the 'Establishment consecrated to Old Age,' known as Sainte-Périne's. The importance of that establishment in the French society of the period is well known, and any author who desires to narrate the story of the latter years of the loyal and ruined nobility of France ought to devote a chapter to it; but, although the Empress figured

as its nominal patroness, although Chailla and Glaux, its founders, adorned their prospectus with her name and even inscribed it on a marble tablet in the front of their house, she never expended any of her own money upon it. It was Napoleon who purchased—for 224,640 francs out of his 'Grande cassette'—one hundred secured places, and undertook in addition to pay thirty annual pensions of 600 francs. He reserved to his wife the right of nomination to the hundred places; hence the erroneous statement. After all, only five years had elapsed before the founders of the institution, who were also its governors, failed to meet their engagements, and after a commission had been appointed to examine into their resources, in accordance with the decree of the 17th of January, 1806, which subjected all such establishments to the supervision of the Government, it appeared that no guarantee of stability for the old people who had purchased their admission to the institution of Sainte-Périne existed. Three decrees dispossessed the founders and assigned the direction to the Council General of Hospitals, who had to spend 200,000 francs a year more than the revenue of the institution upon it. Nevertheless, until 1810, Joséphine retained the right of nomination to any of the one hundred and thirty places founded by Napoleon as each became vacant. The competition was so great, the applications were so numerous, signed by such names and supported by such claims, that it was no wonder the favours bestowed by the Empress should be far-famed; and it is probable that the reputation for inexhaustible beneficence which attaches to her in history is largely due to that cause.

All this of course meant much writing, the reading of many letters, and at least the listening to reports, but it did not constitute the whole of Joséphine's work. Although after her marriage with the Vicomte de Beauharnais, her hand-writing and her orthography became exceptionally meritorious for the time she lived in, it was essential from the date of the Consulate for Life that she should possess the necessary information to fit her for the place she was to fill. It was expedient for instance that

she should know enough of history and geography to avoid making mistakes concerning the foreigners who were flocking to Paris from every part of Europe. She knew enough of France as it had been not to blunder, except voluntarily, in the matter of families and marriages, she was ignorant, like a good Frenchwoman, of everything outside France, and to that knowledge, more requisite for the Empress than for the wife of the First Consul—so simple when one has been educated in it from childhood, so complicated when one has to acquire it in after-life—she had to attain in one year, and while the whirlwind was sweeping her upward to the heights. Books would have been of no avail to her. A book gives answers only to those who question it aright; he who knows what book it is that will teach him is already instructed. Not only had Joséphine no such knowledge, but let us only think of the mass of books she would have to deal with, and all the useless digressions! She wanted ideas ready-made, information, superficial, but accurate, which she might assimilate at need, and such anecdotes as would impress certain facts upon her memory, in order to enable her to be sure of the exact titles of persons, their places of abode, their respective nationality and degrees of relationship; so that at audiences and Drawing-Rooms she might be able to flatter the vanity of "persons presented" by an appropriate question or remark to each, making it evident that the Empress was acquainted with their several families, their works, or other special claims to distinction, and that they themselves were rated at their true value and importance. Joséphine had found the very man to fill the office of instructor in such a case. This was the Abbé Nicolas Halna, a personage whose career, though varied and somewhat erratic, had enabled him to acquire a vast amount of information: first as a medical student, secondly as a priest, thirdly as tutor to the Durfort children, fourthly as a professor in and afterwards principal of the College of Sedan. In addition to these vicissitudes, he had served with the Engineers' Corps during the Revolution, been surgeon in a hospital, master of a school in the Faubourg Saint-Marceau, secretary of the Council of



MADAME VISCONTI



the École Polytechnique, professor of geography at the Prytanée, and when Rémusat disinterred him for Joséphine, he was a teacher at the École de Fontainebleau. In order to justify a salary of 4,200 francs, "the wife of the First Consul," Halna tells us himself, "had the title of librarian given to me, but without any duties, because she did not wish to pass for requiring to be taught like a child." This teaching, which the Abbé, who had a readiness for recantations and was fertile in dedications, describes, at the Restoration, when he was full of royalist and religious zeal, as infantine, was neither so simple to give nor so easy to receive. Joséphine applied herself to learning so scrupulously that she could not forgive herself if she made a mistake in any lesson she had to recite. One day she asked the Portuguese Minister for news of the health of the Prince *régnant* instead of *régent*, as she intended, and was so troubled that she actually wept for her error. She was in the right: a great part of the popularity, or at least of the consideration and the praise which were bestowed upon her in Europe was due to that charming way of hers. People were astonished that she should be so well-informed about everything; they were flattered by her accuracy, and retired well-pleased: it was said afterwards, and said truly, that she knew more than the princesses of the old régime, and the only trace of the 'parvenue' that the most captious could reproach her with was that she was almost too well informed!

Before leaving her private apartment Joséphine received a visit from her doctor. There was no regularly-appointed physician to the Empress in the Emperor's Medical Household, but M. Leclerc acted in that capacity. His intimacy with Corvisart, rather than his titles, had led to his obtaining such a distinction; but those titles were Head (*docteur régent*), of the Faculty of Paris, Physician to the Châtelet and the Hospital of Saint-Cyr, Professor to the Faculty, Physician-in-chief of Saint-Antoine. He was, apart from all this, a very distinguished man, remarkably skilful in practice and devoted to his profession. When he died, in January 1808, of a scratch incurred in dissecting, he was succeeded by Dr. Horeau, a pupil of Corvisart, whose *Leçons sur les maladies du cœur* he edited. Horeau did not

leave the Empress, he attended her in her last illness, and afterwards, renouncing medicine, he became Sub-Prefect of Pontoise.

Although Joséphine had perfect health, and bore fatigue and bad weather after the marvellous fashion of women, she was always imagining herself ill, incessantly asking for remedies, and taking medicine; so that by degrees she succeeded in injuring her system. When Leclerc or Horeau could no longer refuse her appeal for useless drugs they called in Corvisart, who came to the consultation, and with smiling gravity ordered pills. These were made of bread crumbs, the Empress immediately became convalescent, and made the First Physician a handsome present; for instance that tortoise-shell and gold snuff-box which may be seen at the Musée de Cluny. The worst ailments she ever had were headaches, but those were infrequent, considering the sort of life she led, and not so violent but that she could get rid of them when there was something to be done to please the Emperor.

* * *

Precisely at eleven o'clock, for in all the actions of her exterior life she was punctual and exact to the utmost, the Empress came out of her private apartment, in the almost out-door costume already described, and holding a lace handkerchief in her gloved hand. There were no pockets in the gowns, and it was not until about 1812 that reticules, which had been used by the women of the Directory period, were resumed, with the addition of gold-work and stones in the clasp, after the new fashion.

Accompanied by the Lady of the Palace of the day, who was usually present at the conclusion of her toilet, she entered the Yellow Salon, and the ladies whom she had caused to be invited to breakfast were introduced. Napoleon, since the Empire at least, breakfasted alone in his apartment; the meal was served on a small portable table and despatched as rapidly as possible. Joséphine, on the contrary, had retained the custom of receiving women at breakfast, and these were, the Lady in

attendance, the Lady who resided at the Tuileries, not seldom the Lady in-Waiting, then persons belonging to the Court, most frequently the wives of great officials, Generals, Ministers, or Councillors of State; sometimes also women who were not of the official world—but no foreigners, no one whosoever connected with the diplomatists accredited to the Emperor, and, as a matter of course, never any men.

Breakfast was announced by the Prefect of the Palace, and the Empress passed into the Salon de Service where the table was laid. The attendants, under the direction of Richaud, her butler, in a fancy coat, were the two 'first' valets-de-chambre, Frère and Douville, the Mameluke and the valets-de-chambre 'd'appartement.' The menu, planned for ten persons, included a soup, four hors-d'œuvres, two removes, six entrées, two roasts, six entremets, six sweet dishes. The wine was Beaune and two bottles of choice Burgundy. Coffee was served at table with liqueurs, a half-bottle being allowed. Joséphine, who ate but little, did the honours with charming grace and almost an air of equality, inviting confidences, making her guests tell her the stories in circulation, and carefully storing them up, for she knew that nothing pleased the Emperor better than to have them retailed to him, and that the town gossip interested him much. Between women thus brought together, whatever the difference of rank, there was less restraint, and besides, Joséphine excelled in putting questions, in turning the answers to advantage, and possessed to perfection the art of conversation, much celebrated in verse in those days, but practised still better in prose.

Occasionally, the Emperor came down: if he found persons present not belonging to the Court, he would look sulky, and the Empress would rise immediately and pass into her private rooms with him. If Joséphine's ladies only, or others whom he knew, were present, he would remain, take a seat, and begin to tease this one or that one, not ill-naturedly, but in a way which showed that he knew too much. Sometimes he would carry the jest too far, and it became embarrassing, even cruel, but fortunately these incursions by Napoleon were rare.

After breakfast, Joséphine returned to her salon, for even the least little walk in the garden of the Tuileries was impossible. It was not until the end of 1810, when Marie Louise was expecting the birth of her child, that the Emperor had the terrace on the edge of the water reserved for his own use; it was not until the following year that a subterranean passage was constructed, so that the terrace might be reached from the Palace without the assembling of a crowd. Before that time all walking exercise was impossible, except on condition of going in a carriage by the Route de Saint-Germain or the Grande Route de l'Éperon de l'Empereur (Avenues de la Grande-Armée et de Neuilly) to the Porte Maillot, in order to reach the Bois de Boulogne, or by Chaillot and Passy to La Muette; there was no more direct road, and once there, what was there to do? Only two of the avenues, the Route Impériale and the Longue Allée were practicable for vehicles, all ended in rond-points without perspective, and the vegetation was as little attractive as the view. Moreover, the Bois with its desolate neighbourhood—uninhabited from the Barrière de l'Étoile—was by no means safe, and when, by a rare chance, Joséphine went there on any but hunting days, she was accompanied by an Equerry, followed by a carriage, and escorted by her picket, an officer, a trumpeter and fourteen chasseurs.

The Emperor, as though he needed some excitement, or that his health required it, took to hunting every now and then. Joséphine had no taste for any kind of sport; indeed she could hardly keep from crying at the 'hallali,' the 'curée' made her sick, and she considered the hunt successful only when there was no 'find' or if she obtained mercy for a poor animal hiding under her carriage; yet she followed all the 'near hunts' at the Bois de Boulogne, Marly, Saint-Germain, Versailles, strove to appear brave in the bad parts of the forest, not to scream, at least in the Emperor's hearing, and to look interested in the sport, although she hated even a quiet walk anywhere except in a park.

Thus she did not regret the privation of exercise, but settled down in her salon contentedly. Now and then she would play a game of billiards

with a chamberlain who exerted all his ingenuity to get beaten, or, if none but persons of the Household were present, she would play on the harp that stood in a corner—just a few light touches almost amounting to an air—always the same, for she had not progressed in the musical talent which her father attributed to her when she left the Convent de la Providence. More frequently she worked at her tapestry frame. Her appointed purveyor of the necessaries and adjuncts was Mademoiselle Dubuequoi Lalouette, who persuaded her that as the Queen had done tapestry work, and made the ladies of her Court do the same, nothing was more becoming, and indeed that it was of necessity. Mademoiselle Dubuequoi traced the patterns and outlined the work on the design, so that there was only the filling-in to do, but this was quite enough for Joséphine. She fully believed that she had worked the whole furniture of the salon at Malmaison—the furniture in white silk with the double J wreathed with miniature hundred-leaved roses—also the rolls of tapestry that were put away in the wardrobe-rooms, an entire suite of furniture on an amaranth ground with the Muses profiled in white, an entire suite on cherry-coloured ground with antique figures representing bronzes, besides any number of 'pieces' and strips; pink upon white, black upon green, screens, pictures in chenille, not to mention all the chairs in the Emperor's private rooms. In the will made at St. Helena Napoleon claimed these chairs for his son.

No reading. She subscribed to the periodicals and large books with engravings that were published by subscription; this cost her 1,800 or 2,000 francs a year; especially botanical works with beautiful coloured illustrations, but these were not for reading. It was only when travelling that the idea of having a hundred francs' worth of volumes bought for her to read occurred to her. True, she had the Bibliothèque du Louvre at her disposal when in Paris, and when at Malmaison the library there; but what did that signify when she did not read, and did not employ a reader? Unless it were a romance in which she thought to find some allusion to her own position, or to her future, she never looked at print;

indeed she had the sort of dread of it, so frequent among women, and also their contempt for it as a useless and idle thing. When this Empress, who spent a million a year upon her dress, wanted to read a novel, price thirty sous, she would borrow, but take good care not to buy it!

No, nothing, neither reading, nor music, nor walking, only conversation. No sooner had she returned with her guests to the Yellow Salon than the persons who had audience for the day began to assemble in the First Salon. All sorts of people came : people from the colonies who had been ruined by the revolt of the negroes, and had discovered their more or less direct connection with the Tascher family; people belonging to the former society who were suddenly reminded by an inspiration from Heaven that they had met, somewhere, a Vicomtesse de Beauharnais—who, by the by, was but a nobody—and had suddenly fallen in love with that lady, people of the new society—the Court society, of course—for all the severity of etiquette was reserved for the faithful and devoted adherents of the Empire. A ci-devant marquis was admitted straight off, with wife and children, to the presence of her whom ten years afterwards he would call "the tyrant's wife," while a superior officer, a commandant or a major, would have the greatest difficulty in getting through the barriers, unless he bore a name of the past, and had fired on the sans-culottes at the outset of his career. The intimacy with Charlotte Robespierre, who had formerly been sufficiently in favour to be presented with Joséphine's portrait, but whose mere name would now have put the visitors of mark to flight, was broken off, also the Empress's friendship with Madame de Crény, with Madame Mailly de Château-Renaud, with Madame Hamelin, with Madame de Carvoisin, with Madame Hainguerlot, with Madame Tallien. It had required a stern manifestation of Napoleon's express will to break the latter tie; for a long time Joséphine had persisted in receiving her old friend in the morning; then—the morning being unsafe—in making appointments with her by night; but upon her marriage with M. de Caraman, the Emperor formally, even sternly, insisted upon a complete breach: this less on account of the wife than of the husband. Thus were most of the connections she

had formed during the Revolution effaced from Josephine's life, and as these had constituted, with the exception of a few Creoles, the whole of her social circle, in order to form a new one she had to fall back upon the family of her first husband and her own, on everyone related to or connected with the Beauharnais or the Taschers in even the most remote degree. She attached herself especially to the Beauharnais, because they were better known, more talked-of, had titles, and served her as beaters so to speak; what she obtained for them would be incredible were it not capable of positive and precise verification.

A seat in the Senate for the ex-cousin, Claude de Beauharnais, with senatorship, the title of count, a salary of 24,000 francs charged upon the Emperor's privy purse, gratuities on the scale of 100,000 francs in one sum; the post of Lady-in-waiting to Princess Caroline for his second wife, Mademoiselle Fortin-Duplessis, and for Stéphanie, his daughter by his first wife, adoption by the Emperor, and a throne in Germany.

For Fanny, the mother of Claude de Beauharnais, a pension of 24,000 francs from Napoleon's privy purse and annual gratuities of 10,000 francs. Claude's first wife was a Lezay-Marnezia; for her brother, Adrian Lezay, Joséphine got the legation of Salzburg, the Prefecture of the Lower-Rhine, a salary of 5,000 francs a month in 1806 and 1807 from the Cassette and numberless gratuities.

Claude had a sister, Madame de Barral. Her husband was made prefect, baron, donee, general of brigade; his uncle, formerly Bishop of Troyes, had a pension of 3,000 francs from the privy purse; his brother-in-law was made Bishop of Meaux and first almoner to the Empress; another brother-in-law was made chamberlain to the King of Westphalia, and his wife 'Lady' to the Princess Pauline; another was made First President of the Court of Grenoble, after having been a deputy to the Corps Législatif.

Alexandre de Beauharnais had a brother, "le féal Beauharnais," deputy from the nobility of Paris to the States-General, colonel-adjutant in the army of Condé, the most irreconcilable of royalists: after 1801, Josephine

wanted to have him made a general in the service of Spain; she had him recalled to France in 1802; his property was restored to him and he was appointed Minister in Etruria, then Ambassador to Spain. There he did one stupid thing after another: Napoleon had to recall him and afterwards to pay his debts. There was nothing to be done with the family of this Beauharnais; his first wife, *née* Beauharnais, divorced him and married a negro; he himself married Mademoiselle de Cohausen, a canoness of the order of Lobeck in Lusace, whom he had known during the emigration; she was really too Germanic. Joséphine took charge of his daughter by his first wife, and put some constraint upon her to effect her marriage with Lavallette, an aide-de-camp of General Bonaparte: at the Empire she was appointed a Lady-of-the-Bedchamber by special favour; Lavallette was only a bourgeois.

The mother of François and Alexandre Beauharnais was a Pivart de Chastulé, a family extinct in the male line; but it boasted the most precious of daughters, for she married a younger La Rochefoucauld under the legitimate kings; she never could have dreamed of such fortune as the Empire brought to her.

Aunt Fanny's name was Mouchard, and she had a sister who married a cousin, Mouchard de Chaban, an officer in the Gardes; her son was made Prefect, Counsellor of State and Intendant of the Finances of the Hanseatic Departments.

It was the same thing with the Taschers; but, in the case of certain members of that connexion, the motive may have been a sense of the befitting, or even affection. For instance, Joséphine had an allowance of 100,000 francs a year secured to her mother, who drew upon the Emperor at random, and she brought her uncle Tascher from the Islands, after his six children, and installed him in the Rue de la Victoire, bedecked him with the Legion, paid his debts, and adopted his son and daughter in order to make royal marriages for them. Then, the Sanois, her cousins-germane—her mother being a Desvergers de Sanois—the Audiffredy cousins, an old maiden lady, a Tascher, of Bordeaux, another, who had formerly been



LA COMTESSE REGNAULD DE SAINT-JEAN-D'ANGELY

Peint par Gérard

Gravé par Ghis.



a nun, and even that Madame de Copons del Llor, *née* Desvergers de Maupertuis, on whom Bonaparte settled a pension of 6,000 francs for supplying information to the correspondents of d'Antraigues. There was nothing to be said against this, however, or against the assistance that was given to Madame Tilden, to Madame Tully, *née* Tartanson; and, except in the case of Tascher marriages—there Josephine aimed high—she did nothing for her relatives that was not legitimate in her position; she did not desire to secure any advantage for herself. Better still, she made Moreau de Saint-Méry Counsellor of State and Administrator-General of Parma, and procured a seat at the Cour des Comptes for M. Périer de Trémemont; but really fine was her discovery at Bordeaux of M. Lafaurie de Monbadon, whose aunt had been—as Marquise de Durfort—Lady-of-the-Bedchamber to Mesdames; under the name of Comte de Montcassin he himself had been colonel of the infantry regiment of Auvergne. The kinship was no doubt distant and very doubtful, but Madame Lafaurie *née* Chaperon de Terrefort, proved a sort of relationship to the Desvergers, on the side of her mother, *née* de Gaigneron des Vallons; this sufficed to get M. Lafaurie made Mayor of Bordeaux in 1805, Governor of the Imperial Palace in 1808, Senator and Count of the Empire in 1809. But there is something better still; because he bore the same name as herself, Joséphine sought out at Orléans a certain M. Tascher who was a retired captain in the regiment of Penthièvre dragoons, and her cousin in the twenty-first degree!

All this was not done without solicitation and scheming, without recommendations, audiences and conversations. And no doubt our researches have brought to light only a part—a very small part—of the benefits bestowed by Joséphine upon her relatives. We may judge from the favours obtained by these two families only—Beauharnais and Tascher—what an amount of business Joséphine must have had to get through, how importunate were the demands on her, and how importunate she had to be in her turn, what a number of different faces the Yellow Salon must have seen, all haggard with entreaty, all wearing a coaxing and hypocritical aspect, all agitated by ambition, all full of covetousness.

The great 'graces' of all—those in which life was at stake—were but seldom craved or granted. Happily it was not every day that Joséphine had to receive a Madame de Polignac, and to force the door of Napoleon's cabinet three times in order to save a head. But the small graces, those which implied a place, a title, a pension or a gift of money, were in the day's work of every day; from twelve o'clock to five the raison-d'être of Joséphine was the consideration of them. From 1792, M. de Beauharnais being merely Maréchal de Camp and she being separated from him, she 'recommended.' She recommended during the Terror, and it was unlucky for her that she did so. She recommended under the Directory, and sometimes to her own advantage. From the date of the Eighteenth Brumaire it became a mania. Volumes might be made of her known letters of recommendation if they were brought to light. In the archives of the Ministries it is impossible to open an official 'dossier' without coming upon a letter in which Joséphine recommends. And what are the letters that remain in comparison with the spoken words that have perished? Each time that a minister came to pay his respects to her she talked to him about a protégé and slipped a 'mémoire' with a petition into his hand. This took at the War Ministry with Berthier, it did not take with Carnot; he went direct to the First Consul with his portfolio full of letters of this kind from Madame Bonaparte. "What do you wish me to do?" he asked. "Keep these letters as documents," replied Bonaparte, "and tell the people who want to get at you through them that I have requested you to give no places to schemers." And Joséphine said to him afterwards: "My dear Monsieur Carnot, pay no regard to my recommendations and marginal notes, they are got from me by dint of importunity, and I give them to everybody without attaching any importance to them."

For one Carnot who went straight up to the obstacle and found it to be a sham, how many, more easy to intimidate, less resolute and more servile, put on special spectacles to inspect a 'dossier,' and failed to perceive that the one document which ought to have been there was

missing; how many, thinking to advance themselves and gain favour filled their respective administrations with dubious personages, some of them rogues, others traitors, with men who gloried in their infamy like Vitrolles and Barruel-Beauvert, to note only the most notorious examples! For Joséphine did not inquire, did not discuss anything; it was enough that persons were 'introduced', had a name, good manners, and the old Court air. It gave them so much pleasure and it cost her so little trouble. But presently it actually came to her recommending persons whose very name she did not know. "The bearer is a citizen to be recommended." "I have time only to recommend the bearer to you." There are a hundred letters of this kind.

At first she aimed at everything, even in the Army and in Foreign Relations; but she perceived, quickly enough, that there was nothing to be done in either direction, military and political places being strictly reserved by Bonaparte; then she fell back upon deputies' seats, sub-prefectures, and especially upon such places in the Finance department as did not require special apprenticeship. She had an obliging faithful servitor in the Droits Réunis, one François (of Nantes) who took the most of her protégés off her hands; she housed others at the Forêts, the Douanes, the Contributions Directes, the Studs, the Weights and Measures, the Salines and the Tabacs; but above all she coveted the Recettes des Finances; for that she had candidates by the hundred, and strove to obtain the Emperor's promise of a third or fourth vacancy in advance. Occasionally she came into competition with princesses of the Family, even with her own daughter, and then arrangements, bargains, exchanges took place. Not a 'director's' place, not a tobacco-shop (régie) was vacant but she knew it, or, at least, it was discovered for her, and she exerted herself at once. No doubt her eagerness was transient and her memory needed refreshing; but are not the stories to that effect mostly invented to justify ingratitude? It cannot be denied that she was singularly obliging and ready to do kind actions; it is equally true that she preferred to draw upon the funds of the State or on the Emperor's 'Cassette' rather than

upon her own purse. Was she not right? Her own reputation as a beneficent person was thereby enhanced, and she also had the pleasure of receiving people, sending them away satisfied, and perhaps drawing down at least passing benedictions upon herself, at no greater cost than a few words, and a small expenditure of pens, ink, and paper.

* * *

These visits, talks, audiences and letters consumed the day. The time for dressing for the evening came, and rather soon, for the dinner-hour was six o'clock. The Empress re-entered her apartments, but sometimes she had tea previously with a few of her intimates. This little repast was prepared by the Office, and included five entremets for the children whom she received with their mammas, and always sent away with some pretty present.

At her toilet the proceedings of the morning were repeated; she changed all her linen; but when it came to the coiffure, Duplan officiated more frequently than Herbault. He dressed her hair with beads, with precious stones, with artificial flowers, often with pieces of crêpe, tulle, muslin, velvet or cachemire, embroidered in gold or silver. Then the wardrobe-women brought in big baskets containing the gowns from which she was to choose. Joséphine rarely wore the same twice, but all, even those for ordinary days, were very much décolletées and singularly elegant. The gowns were legion, and of every colour, shape and material; gauze, velvet, satin, blonde, crépon de Barèges, net, plush; one hundred and thirty evening gowns in a single year, not counting the tunics worn over them, and apart from the full-dress gowns (Grands habits), which were for ceremonies, 'cercles,' plays and balls. It is impossible to keep these things clear in one's mind, and to give an idea of the gowns made of net or tulle embroidered in silver or gold, trimmed with point d'Angleterre, or silver lace, looped up with flowers of every shade, of blonde gowns made of lace, and figured ribbon bordered with silver, embroidered

in gold, or of gauze, striped with all the bright colours, spangled with all the metals; and again of gowns entirely composed of lace, point d'Angleterre or Mechlin, or Valenciennes, all clinging to the body, moulding its form but outlining it with a sort of coloured halo. And then, if we pass on to satin and velvet gowns which strike grave notes in this concert of elegance, rich and heavy dresses trimmed with fringes of pearls, with chenille and blonde, with ermine or sable, embroidered in silks of every shade, in silver, gold and coloured stones, the whole flickers before our eyes.

Besides, can we depict a woman's elegance and convey by words the pattern of a gown, can we define such a thing as it really is? Can we impart that idea of the particular and the rare which the masterpiece of an artist conveys, or enter sufficiently into the detail of things to point out the hand of Leroy here, and there that of some mere ordinary person? Far more fugitive than our notion of people themselves is that of the garments in which they are clothed, and, at the distance of a century, it is impossible to measure the space between two gowns of the same stuff, of similar form, and almost identical embellishment, the one having belonged to an empress, the other to a flower girl for Sunday wear, the one having cost two hundred louis, and the other two hundred francs.

Napoleon wished Joséphine to wear very full-dress in the evening, and that it should be according to his taste. He laid claim to knowledge of the matter, and severely criticised everything that was not of the most perfect and the very newest elegance. He had a governing idea in this, desiring that his good city of Lyons should make money by the consumption of velvet and silk; after the Consulate he did not allow India muslins and foreign stuffs to be worn in the evening, and by this simple order he caused a rise of 500,000 kilograms in the exportation of Lyons wrought silks in 1806, and in that of silk-velvets alone a rise of more than 21,000 kilograms. He guided himself, in the matter of his taste in dress, by the interests of the manufactures of Saint-Quentin, Caen and Chantilly, and the example of sumptuous attire set by his wife, with the renown which French fashions had regained in Europe, quadrupled the exporta-

tion of those goods in 1806 on that of 1788; it rose from 650,000 francs to two and a half millions.

He would occasionally go down to his wife's room at the evening dressing-time, to look into this matter, divert his mind, and enjoy a pleasing spectacle. And then, if he was in a good humour, he amused himself by putting questions to the waiting-women. "What is this?" "I have not seen that yet." "What use is it?" "How much does it cost?"

He would give one a pat, pinch the ear or the cheek of another, and regardless of the majesty of the Empress, do the same to her, even giving her playful slaps on the shoulders. "Leave off, Bonaparte, do leave off," she would say in her languid musical voice, but he would go on, for he had no moderation, and sometimes hurt people unintentionally. He was always fond of using his hands, as those whom nobody hits back in return and from whom a pinch is a mark of favour, are apt to be. The better his humour the more he indulged in this amusement, and the less he perceived that it was annoying. If, however, the person whom he was teasing did not bear it well, then came a loss of familiarity, but not of favour.

Even there, at his wife's toilet, Napoleon exercised the ruling faculties of his mind; the faculty of analysis that made him want to account for everything, the faculty of order that led him to remark the insignificant presence of such or such a waiting-maid, to enquire into the 'turns' of service and the particular duties of each individual; then, the 'gamin' side of him turning-up, he would empty the jewel cases and mix up their contents. He came like a gust of wind—unless it were upon a day of relaxation, one of those days when, unoccupied, lazy, apparently incapable of labour, he gave his mind a holiday, leaving his designs to ripen by the obscure and almost unconscious travail of his brain. Otherwise, it was a sudden entrance, a few words quickly spoken, some questions put, a brief scene of bustle, and a retreat by the dark staircase.

The Empress finished her toilet; as she did not care for jewels to lock them up, but to enjoy them, and to adorn herself with them, she put on beautiful and numerous ornaments. Few bracelets, but rings, necklaces,

LA DUCHESSE D'ABRANTÈS



earrings and belts, frequently matching the precious stones in her head-tire.

Fans were not in vogue, and all those which she used, very rarely—only eight were in her wardrobe list for 1809—were small, without artistic taste or value, only perfumers' wares, those little gauze fans with gold, silver or steel spangles, and mother-o'-pearl or spangled tortoise-shell sticks, which were mere trifles of fashion. The reign of the fan was over. The last of the artistic fans seems to have been one designed by Chaudet, Percier and Fontaine, which was presented to Madame Bonaparte about 1800. Instead of the fan Joséphine had the shawl. It was narrow for evening, hardly more than a scarf, light and fine enough to go through a ring. More refined than the play of the fan is the play of the shawl, as it hangs on the arm, is drawn up to the shoulders, or slipped down to the waist; the shawl, so fine, so filmy, so flowing, a dream-like web, which obeys thought as it were, and is so closely allied to the body that it is subject to all its impressions, and translates all its sensations.

Her toilet being finished to the very last touches, Joséphine waited until the Prefect of the Palace came to announce that dinner was served and the Emperor ready. She might have to wait an hour, two hours, sometimes three or four. The Emperor would occasionally forget that he had not dined, and at eleven o'clock he would enter the Empress's apartment abruptly, saying: "Let us go to bed." And he would have to be reminded that he had not eaten. Joséphine did not grow impatient, she did not go up to her husband's rooms, she respected his occupation. She cared little or nothing about food; not only was she not 'gourmande' or even 'friande,' but she was not hungry. As a fact, she had had one full meal, breakfast, then she had taken tea, and this was sufficient in a life without any exercise.

She stayed there talking with her ladies until they went to dinner at the table of the Grand Marshal or the Lady-in-Waiting, then applied herself to games of 'patience,' the great resource for killing time, or sent for some woman among her intimate acquaintance to come and talk; but most

frequently she mused upon the means of averting the threatened divorce. The fear of this was constantly suspended over her head, and its inevitable approach had led to a stormy scene on almost every occasion of the Emperor's sojourn in France since 1807.

When, at last, Napoleon remembered dinner, the Prefect of the Palace apprized Joséphine, and she went into the room where the table was set, either one of the Emperor's salons on the first floor, or the first salon of her own apartment. The table-layers (couvreurs de table) had placed the covers according to the rules of etiquette, and, if the dinner was served in the Emperor's apartment, his chief butler was on duty; if in the Empress's salon, her pages presented the plates which they received from the valets-de-chambre d'appartement, to whom they were handed by the butler. The repast, consisting of soup, beef, a remove, a side dish, four entrées, two roasts, two entremets and two salads, was placed on the table—the only clearance was for dessert—and dinner was over in a quarter of an hour or twenty minutes at the most.

In Paris, the Emperor and Empress always dined tête-à-tête, except on Sunday, when the Princes and Princesses shared the family dinner. From 1806, this family dinner became almost a myth, for most of the Princes were out of France, but the principle was retained, and if they returned to Paris they resumed their places. At Saint-Cloud, the Princes and Princesses, on special invitation, the Ministers, after a consultation with the Emperor, occasionally some great officers of the Empire, or a few women, were admitted to the imperial table. It was the same at the Élysée, which was regarded as a country residence, but although that did make some difference, for the etiquette was a little less strict, things went on pretty much as usual. The Emperor, instead of putting questions to the Prefect of the Palace, put them to the guests; but it was all the same to Joséphine whether it was the librarian, the prefect, an aide-de-camp, an orderly officer or a minister; 'work,' in fact, went on all the time and the Empress had nothing to do with it.

After dinner she returned to the salon, accompanied by the Emperor,

and herself gave him his coffee ; then, unless they were going to one of the four imperial theatres, or that there was a Drawing-room, a ball, a concert or a play at the Palace—any of these took place only twice a week at most —the short evening was passed with a select few. The Emperor had the officers and ladies on duty summoned ; certain personages who had obtained the entrée came to pay their respects ; high dignitaries, great officers of the Crown or of the Empire, Senators in special favour and in Napoleon's good graces. As a general rule, after he had said a few words to each and all, the Emperor returned to his work upstairs, and the Empress made a pretence of doing a bit of tapestry, or played trick-track with a high dignitary or one of her chamberlains, while all the men remained standing and the women were seated at a loto table. The Empress played quickly and well, she knew all the queer vocabulary of the game and liked to puzzle her adversary by talking it. She liked games of every kind, and she excelled at cards as unoccupied and venturesome women often do excel; she was very fond of whist, and no doubt would have liked less scientific games now and then, but these were not admissible.

She had too, but little time for the enjoyment of her favourite amusement ; if she were informed that the Emperor desired her presence she would leave everything. He would often ask her to read a novel to him when he was in bed, for he liked to be soothed by her clear silvery tones. Her lovely voice, the sole beauty which his wife had retained unimpaired, possessed a singular charm for him, and as he listened to it all the past of love came back to his memory and softened his heart. Having read him to sleep she would come down again, and as she liked to sit up late, she had sometimes tried to keep her ladies and a few of the Court men by having tea served, but this had displeased the Emperor. She now contented herself with resuming her game of trick-track and prolonging it as much as she could. Before midnight everybody had retired.

Then came her night toilet, always a long business, for she made it as becoming as that of the day. "She was equally elegant in it," the Emperor has told us, and "she even got into bed gracefully."

Joséphine's life in Paris, when the Emperor was there, was hardly more monotonous than her life in his absence. The etiquette was the same, and she was under perpetual observation. If the Empress ventured to enjoy a laugh in a railed box at some little theatre, accompanied, however, by her whole suite, immediately there came a reprimand, were it from the confines of Russia: "You must not go to a little box at little plays. It is not suitable to your rank. You ought to go only to the four great theatres and always be in a large box." Did she give herself a little freedom in her receptions. "I desire that you never dine except with persons who have dined with me, that the list for the Drawing-rooms be the same, that you never admit foreign ambassadors to Malmaison in private." And the constant burden of the song was: "Live as you did when I was in Paris," and "If you do differently, you will displease me." Now, Joséphine was aware that Napoleon received minute information concerning all that she did every day; visits, drives, plays, the smallest and most insignificant details of her daily life, in the first place from her own attendants, and also from the Palace itself and the Ministry of Police. If in her letters she failed to mention anybody whom she had seen or anything which she had done, said, or even heard said, she was surely called to order. Therefore she did not budge without having asked and received permission, and, in Paris at least, she observed almost exactly the same routine as though Napoleon might suddenly start up in her life, as he often wrote that that he would do, and occasionally did. Once only, in 1809, and not by any fault of hers, she failed to be at Fontainebleau at the precise moment of the Emperor's arrival, and that delay served, to some extent, as a pretext for his final resolution to divorce her.

Joséphine's was the life of a favourite sultana, like that of her cousin, Mademoiselle de Rivery, who was taken by pirates on her return from France, and sent by the Dey of Algiers as a present to the Grand Turk. To him she bore a son, Mourad II., who ascended the throne in 1808. What else was her incessant dread of being repudiated or forsaken, the



JOSEPHINE EN 1806

Pastel de Boilly

Musée de Versailles

torture or the restlessness of jealousy, the close, shut-up, guarded palace, the protracted adornment of her person, the purchase of jewels and stuffs brought to her by the dealers, the visits of women, the vague occupation of her fingers in tracing some design in needlework or playing with precious stones, the games of skill and chance, the fortune-telling and divining of the future, the constant waiting on the will and pleasure of the master, than the life led by the odalisques on the shores of the Bosphorus in their opulent and fear-haunted idleness?



EMBLEMATIC ATTRIBUTES OF THE HOUSEHOLD

An unpublished engraving after Prout and Hunt

II.

THE HOUSEHOLD OF THE EMPRESS.

Although she led this life, shut up in a palace which she did not leave even to take the air, Joséphine escaped that sort of malady which comes of what is called The Court, and almost invariably affects sovereigns. The existence of those personages is mostly passed in the midst of a very small number of individuals of supple backbone and restricted ideas, whose lips wear the never-to-be disconcerted smile of the stage-dancer, and whose every word is an assent so eager that it passes for being spontaneous. These creatures, who owe their position much more to their name and rank than to the liking entertained for them, or the devotedness which they display, form the daily and obligatory society of the sovereign, who does not care for them but keeps them on. By degrees they form groups and close up, so as to raise a barrier which excludes the view of all beyond from the sovereign and prevents him from perceiving the real; they usurp that sort of influence over him which is created by constant presence and necessary confidence, and by his being kept in a ring fence through which none can

break but such as are serviceable to them, or to whom they are useful. The air becomes too thick to be breathed by persons who are not of their nature and their faction; their servility interprets the rumours from without into flattery. And this goes on until one day a revolution abolishes the astonished sovereign, who cannot imagine how such a catastrophe has been produced.

If 'the malady of the Court' be such as this in the case of a King, who must get some glimpses of the real world through the affairs of the State, since he must needs become acquainted with them, and be obliged to discuss them; who cannot be so closely surrounded but that at some odd moment a free and truthful word may reach his ears; who cannot be blinded to such an extent that no scrap of factious writing shall ever meet his eyes; it is the inevitable destiny of queens, who are prevented, by their birthright-rank and their origin, from forming any tie or having any society, apart from the obligatory Court circle, which is not of their choosing. A queen is obliged to pass her life every day and all day long with that Court; she cannot go away from it, she cannot get rid of it. It always interposes a screen between her and the light; from it there arises one unceasing song which renders all other sounds inaudible. If she comes to like certain persons of her Court, and forms a private circle thinking that she may thus secure friends for herself, it is still worse; her favour lavishly bestowed, all her efforts to satisfy the greed for money and honours fail to win greater devotion, or to procure truth-speaking, indeed those favours and efforts do but increase rivalry and arouse unsuspected enmity, and so a day comes when she is astonished to discover her worst foes among that privileged company.

Joséphine only, of all the women who have shared the throne of France, escaped that Court tyranny. By the numerous audiences which she gave in the morning and during the day, by the acquaintance which she kept up with a number of women whom she had known, by the entrée given to unimportant people who had formerly been intimate with her, she at least got gusts of outer air, she lived in the present, and kept up a cer-

tain amount of knowledge of people and things. The Court was not the whole of everything to her; she was not unaware, besides, that there were men who served the State, men even who refused to be employed under the Emperor, and whose wives were at least as important, by reason of the names they bore, and their personal position, as the ladies of her circle. When the crowd came eagerly to salute her at the great balls at the Tuileries and the Hôtel de Ville, she put names to the faces, and to her it was not an anonymous stream flowing past to the accompaniment of the scornful scoffing of her Officers and her Ladies. She did not look upon her duties as Empress as an intolerable task to be got through as quickly as possible, so that she might return to her own habits and her own abode. If not exactly grateful to those persons who might fail in the observance of etiquette on some points, she was at least aware that she had need of them, and could rely on their community of interests.

Joséphine knew her 'world' as became a well-bred woman who belongs to a polite society, understands its duties and is accustomed to fulfil them. She knew it as became a Frenchwoman who had learned something of the history of her nation, for whom the honour of a race, the services rendered to the country, the blood shed for it and the glory won, were not matter of indifférence; and she gave French people their proper place when she received them: she did not prefer, as though by instinct, anybody, being a foreigner, who united vulgar manners, elegant dress, and ignorant jargon with a false title or a usurped name.

Joséphine, although she held her Drawing-room in the Salle du Trône, and therefore was obliged to observe certain particular forms, was, nevertheless, still a lady receiving in her salon, and what she said was just what she would have said, had this been so. The sentiment she inspired was, therefore, always what would have been felt for a *lady*, of very high rank no doubt, but a *lady;* not that something so great, so far off, so majestic which a queen of France was in former times. To most of those who had passed through the Revolution and been brought up in it, the Emperor was the Emperor; they recognized his superiority, bowed to

his genius, sincerely regarded him as Head of the State and Head of the Army. It was entirely fitting that he should assume the title of Emperor and the style of Majesty; as General, First Consul, Emperor, he had always commanded everywhere, he had always been the first. But Joséphine, although she had followed her husband's fortune, had not herself grown great to the point of essential change, she could not appear to be of a different nature from those who had formerly known her, she could not force formal adulation upon them. We can perfectly understand that general who said to Eugène a few days after the Empire: "Comment va Madame votre mère?" It came natural to him to say this, any other phrase would have required an effort of thought and an exercise of memory. She remained a lady, and although she maintained her position, and never was at fault in any respect, she constantly made it manifest, whether by accident or intentionally, that she had not been born in her present rank, that she remembered to have held quite a different place in society; she seemed grateful for the respect that was shown her, but then she did not affect to have become completely its dupe. She never reached the necessary pitch of pride, she never acquired the haughtiness that overawes; she did not feel herself called by Providence to a mission; she did not hold the first article of faith requisite for her position.

Even had she possessed that belief in herself—she never could have been a *queen*, in the sense attached to the word at that period—although she alone among the queens of France had had the crown placed upon her head, and received the threefold unction. She never could have approached a type which must always be imposing, inaccessible, and almost hieratic; for the duty that devolves upon her who is the wife of the Lord's anointed, a duty august, mysterious and sacred, is to perpetuate the race that God has chosen, and to this function everything in her existence, even her life, is subordinate.

The woman who fulfils such a duty must not be suspected, must not even be approached; she must not be sociable or affable, and still less

must she be hospitable. She has to ignore the existence of other people. If there be an exterior world, she knows nothing about it; she awaits the coming of her lord, and that is all.

Behind her, occupying a place which seems necessary in the monarchy, even salutary from certain points of view—for if the Queen is tempted to fill it she ruins herself and royalty with her—we find another woman whose function is not only to please and amuse the ruler, but to establish a sort of correspondence between the King and certain classes of the nation. She is there to distribute favours of a certain order, to patronize artists, to give fashion its impulse and its laws, in short to be the delight of the eyes, the charm and the foible of the monarchy, to lend a little reality and a touch of nature and gracefulness to those gilded saloons in which living beings look like the wax figures in a museum of automata. Now Joséphine possessed all the qualities to be desired in a king's mistress, with only a few of the faults that are imputed to most of those persons. She was polite, kind and generous; she was lavishly extravagant, and she spent money foolishly; but she did not meddle with politics and if she schemed it was with one object only, that of defending her own position, of saving herself from being banished or repudiated. She thought of this only; it was the sole motive of her jealousies and her resentments. These were very transient, "for she had no more gall than a chicken," and she forgave or forgot the direst offences, even those which must have wounded her the most deeply. This too was a characteristic which she shared with the mistresses of kings, rather than with queens, for, during four centuries, only two queens had been repudiated, but how many mistresses had been dismissed! Repudiation could not enter into the prevision of a veritable queen, who consequently could not be disturbed by any such idea, whereas, however secure the position of a mistress may appear to be, she is always trembling at the possibility of dismissal.

There was another point of resemblance: Joséphine had friends among the Court and the people employed there; she had adherents, almost partizans; but were the hand that had raised her up to be withdrawn from

her she would retain no honours but those the sovereign might leave to her, no society would remain to her but such as he might permit. A sign of approbation from him would suffice to make her eagerly sought, a gesture of scorn or anger would cause her to be deserted.

The friendships she had formed hardly rose to devotion in any case, and had none of that sort of mystic adoration with which the French had formerly regarded the Queen. Joséphine, at forty, could not suddenly inspire veneration; but she continued to win affection. The very qualities and actions that made her charming and established her popularity, the renewal of old ties with those who approached her, her evocation of old remembrances, the presents she made, in short everything in which she was most loveable rendered her less sovereign. By recalling the point from which she started, she prevented those around her from experiencing in her presence, at the point which she seemed to have reached, that sense of confusion, emotion, abasement of one's self, and hopeless inferiority which the subjects of a real, genuine queen are obliged to experience.

Had she been other than she was by her birth, her marriages, her education and her former life, had she come to this throne as a stranger and unknown, still Joséphine would not have been a queen, for never more was there to be one in France; those twelve years had hollowed out an abyss never to be filled henceforth, and veneration had slipped down to the bottom of it. The Emperor was feared and respected because he was strong, and so long as he continued to be strong he would be feared and respected, but he was not revered. His wife still less. It is not power that inspires veneration. New idols are not revered—for that centuries are required—and the idols were broken.

Those idols, the queens who had preceded Joséphine in these same palaces, were not only elevated above the crowd by their birth, and defended from any familiarity by their foreign origin, they were also sheltered against the outside, guarded against themselves if need were, by the atmosphere of respect, veneration, and silence with which they were surrounded by their household under the rules of etiquette.

That household, composed of persons of the highest dignity in France, was interposed, for the increase of her greatness, between the Queen and all that was animated, sociable and popular. The Queen was presented to the imagination as more goddess than woman, seated at the back of a gilded chapel, on a golden throne, in golden garments and dazzling with gems; below the throne, ranged in order, and also laden with precious metals and jewels, were ladies, with stern, still faces, in an almost hieratic posture. Priests, wearing golden mitres, and fixed in the attitude of benediction, caused consecrated perfumes to be burned in golden censers. Old men, decorated with broad ribbons worn on coats of gold or cuirasses of steel, waited for commands in a formal posture of haughty respect and proud deference. At a distance, in various costumes, uniforms and liveries, extending from step to step like the figures in an apotheosis, were the officers (gens) of the Table (la Bouche), the officers of the Stables, the officers of the Council, the officers of the Chamber, the officers of Health, then the swarming little world of the Seven offices, and on the lowest step, the pretty pages, pert, and lively, with insolent eyes and mocking tongues. And, while the Gardes du corps, the Cent-suisses and the Queen's Gendarmes, glittering halberds in hand, warded off the people, sweet music was breathed forth as in a dream by voices which floated on the harmony of bass viols, harpsicords and the trebles and fifths of the violin. A world apart, a world arranged as a hierarchy for the guarding and the service of one sole being, a world in which every illustrious family in France has its representative, and each name evokes historical memories, a world in which the ages seem to be assembled together that all their glories may swell the train of the Queen. On the eve of the death of the monarchy, the Queen's Ladies were the Princesse de Lamballe, *née* Savoie-Carignan; the Princesse de Chimay, *née* Fitz-James; the Comtesse d'Ossun, *née* Grammont; the Comtesse de Talleyrand, *née* Damas; the Comtesse de Grammont, *née* Faoucq; the Duchesse de Saulx, *née* Lévis; the Comtesse d'Adhémar, *née* Valbelle; the Duchesse de Duras, *née* Noailles; the Vicomtesse de Choiseul, *née* Dur-

fort; the Duchesse de Luxembourg, *née* d'Argenson; the Duchesse de Luynes, *née* Laval; the Princesse d'Hénin, *née* Mauconseil; the Marquise de la Roche-Aymon, *née* Beauvilliers; the Princesse de Berghes, *née* Castellane; the Duchesse de Fitz-James, *née* Thiard; the Vicomtesse de Polastron, *née* d'Esparbès de Lussan; and as supernumeraries, the Princesse de Juigné, the Vicomtesse de Castellane, the Princesse de Tarente: these names meant France and the history of France. Now, several of these ladies had died in the Revolution; most were exiled and in poverty; only a few had secretly returned to France and obtained the restitution of some remnants of their fortune, thanks to Joséphine; but they were not to be relied on to form the State Household of "the little Beauharnais." If they were questioned, even in a careless way, they replied, like the Princesse de Chimay: "I have forgotten everything, all except the kindness of my former sovereigns and their misfortunes."

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To think that the equal or the like of these could be found at once was of course out of the question; besides, the matter was not one of persons only. To make the Household of the Empress bear at least an external resemblance to that of the Queen, it would have been necessary to revise those antique customs which had lost their meaning for many in the lapse of thirty years, and were mere lumber. Even though personal services were to be excluded, could the titles and semblance of all the former posts have been revived? Would it not have been asked what good had come of the Revolution if the things most grievous to the people, the things that had been most vehemently denounced by the popular orators of the time, were restored? If the Empress must have a Household ought it not to be reduced to the strictly necessary, to such things as were indispensable if her Court was to bear any resemblance to the Courts of other European Sovereigns? But this would no more be the restoration of a Queen's household than the Empress herself was the

restoration of a Queen; it would be the semblance of a Household, as the Empress herself was the semblance of a Sovereign; and just as the semblance was deceitful in Joséphine's case, so it was in that of the Household, indeed even more so.

The Monarchy of Napoleon was, in fact, unlike any other existing in Europe. Notwithstanding his efforts to solder together the France of the Bourbon Monarchy and the France that proceeded from the Revolution, the latter was still predominant in his armies, his councils and his government, not the former, which was like other royalties. He was, perhaps in spite of himself, the Emperor of the French Republic, and there was nothing in Europe to afford comparison with that.

He might have applied a new system to an unexampled situation by nominating only the wives of those who had contributed, by their blood and their services, to establish and consolidate the régime. If all the renown of those young men who themselves were "ancestors," had been made to shine about the throne, if as many quarterings of victory had been required for the post of Lady of the Palace as quarterings of nobility in the past, if the most illustrious among the veterans of the great wars had been appointed to the highest functions of the Household, if proofs of heroic valour and cheerful endurance had been demanded for the lesser posts, then would the Household of the Empress have been, like the Empire itself, something new and apart, commanding admiration and exacting respect: it might have been hated, but none could have ridiculed it, and it would have been regarded with timorous astonishment as the Empire itself was regarded.

Difficulties would no doubt have arisen. The great military officers were numerous, but their wives were mostly ill-fitted by their birth, their past, and their habits of life, to hold a place at Court or even in society. Choice from among the military only would have given the matter a complexion which Napoleon wished to avoid, and would have impeded the fusion he was trying to effect in the country. Politeness might not have been conspicuous, and foreigners might have been sur-

prised by certain forms of language and manners. But there was no reason why the wives of civil officials of high rank should not have been associated with the wives of soldiers, and the former would have supplied the missing elements. By degrees such a classification would have come about as would have admitted of recruiting excellent elements and selecting the best looking and best mannered among the ladies, but the matter was too much hurried. The notion of acquired rights was admitted, no plan was settled, the advantages of one system or another were not studied, and the Emperor left the nominations in a great measure to Joséphine. The Empress, who did not understand that the composition of her Household might possess great moral, social, and political importance for the nation and for Europe, formed it at haphazard, being swayed by her recollections, her gratitude, her affections and her habits, and only anxious so to fill up the list of appointments drawn out by the Emperor, that the result might not be too great a change in her own life, too much constraint in her society, and a metamorphosis of her personal relations.

Although the Emperor had followed the general composition of the Queen's Household in drawing-up these lists, he had *a priori* introduced an essential difference. Although the service of the Empress's officers was distinct from that of the Emperor's officers, the Household of the Empress, contrary to the system of the old régime, had no autonomy or existence of its own: "The Emperor having judged it expedient to have only a single Household and but one Administration." Each of the four first officers, heads of the four departments, was under the jurisdiction of the corresponding great officer of the Crown in all that concerned his post, his budget and his subordinates; consequently, those among them who had a right to a uniform when on duty at Court, wore one of the same shape, colour, and embroidery as their colleagues of the Emperor's Household: red for the chamberlains, light blue for the equerries, and all the embroidery in silver.

The four first officers were a First Almoner, a Lady-in-waiting, a First



LA COMTESSE DE LUCAY

Miniature de Isabey



Equerry, a First Chamberlain. Afterwards, in imitation of the former customs, the First Equerry, whose duties were those of Gentleman-in-waiting, received that title and was replaced as first equerry, but this only created a place without any duties attached to it; the First Equerry remained Master of the Horse under special conditions, for, by exception to the admitted principle, and no doubt in order to safeguard acquired rights, the Empress retained her private Stable establishment in the Household, as Madame Bonaparte had done.

The First Almoner or Chaplain bishop represented in his own person the whole of the 'Chapelle,' or ecclesiastical service, but the Service d'honneur was considerably augmented; the Empress, like the Queen, had a Lady-in-waiting and a Lady of the Bedchamber; but, although she had no Superintendent of her Household, instead of twelve Ladies of the Palace established by Louis XIV. and kept up to the same number by Louis XV. and Louis XVI, nineteen were assigned to her in the first year, then twenty-three, then twenty-eight, then twenty-nine, two being supernumeraries. The number of the Ladies of the Palace was unlimited: under Marie-Louise it extended to thirty-eight. The Queen had a First Equerry, an Equerry-in-ordinary and four Equerries on quarterly duty; this number was adopted for the new Household. The Empress surpassed the Queen in one department, she had a First Chamberlain, a Chamberlain Introducer of Ambassadors, and at first four, afterwards six, Chamberlains. But she came short of the Queen in all that concerned the table (la Bouche), for she dined with the Emperor, and everything that was necessary for her was furnished by the Kitchens, the offices, the cellar and the fuel departments; and she came short also in everything relating to the Chamber, the Council and the Pages. Before the reform of 1788, the Queen's Household consisted of four hundred and ninety-eight persons, from the Superintendent down; the entire Household of the Empress numbered hardly one hundred.

It is impossible to compare the statements of expenditure; the regular salaries in the Queen's Household were small (Superintendent, 6,000 livres;

Lady-in-waiting, 1,200 livres; Lady of the Bedchamber, 600 livres; Grand Almoner, 300 livres; Gentleman-in-waiting, 1,200 livres; First Equerry, 600 livres); but the perquisites and profits were immense. In the Household of the Empress, however, there was nothing beyond the salaries except such presents and supplementary sums as might be got out of the Emperor.

The First Almoner's stipend was 20,000 francs a year; the Lady-in-waiting had 40,000, the Lady of the Bedchamber had 30,000; each of the Ladies of the Palace had 12,000, the reversionists had 6,000; the Gentleman-in-waiting, the First Chamberlain and the First Equerry 30,000; the Equerries and three of the Chamberlains 12,000, two Chamberlains 6,000 only. These figures would allow of an almost exact statement of what the Household cost, if it were not necessary to add supplementary sums paid to a great number of people on the 'Grande cassette,' and gratuities by the Emperor charged either upon the same, or on various sections of the Household budget, on the funds of the Theatres and the Police, on the Domaine Extraordinaire, and on the funds of the State.

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According to order, the First Almoner came first, but he had hardly any defined obligations, and, as a matter of fact, he exerted no influence over Joséphine. His duties were limited to receiving the commands of the Empress for the hour of Mass, accompanying her to the Chapel and presenting her prayer book to her. According to rule he ought to have been assisted by two chaplains, but those chaplains were not appointed. On the other hand, a chaplain-in-ordinary was employed for a few months in 1806; this was the celebrated Abbé Fournier, who was afterwards made Bishop of Montpellier and re-entered the department of the Grand Almoner.

Joséphine, although she strictly observed the proprieties, and assumed an edifying attitude at the services in the Chapel, cared little about the Faith, and 'practised' not at all. She sought to penetrate the earthly future by means of fortune-telling and card-reading, but she neglected

the heavenly future. She had felt scruples of conscience once only, at the time of the Coronation, and those were rather too opportune to be sincere. She would only have had to make her chaplain director and adviser; but she wanted a decorative personage, and she got him in the younger brother of Cardinal de Rohan, Bishop of Strasburg (he of the Necklace), Prince Ferdinand-Maximilian-Mériadec de Rohan, fourth son of Hercule-Mériadec de Rohan, Duc de Montbazon, Prince de Guéméné, and Louise-Gabrielle de Rohan-Soubise. The Rohans had not forgiven the dismissal of one of 'theirs' from the post of Grand Almoner in 1786, and the investiture of a Montmorency-Laval with it. Prince Ferdinand especially had been grievously hurt, because he believed himself fully entitled to succeed his brother. Was he not Archbishop-Duke of Cambrai, Comte de Cambrésis and a prince of the Empire, Grand Provost of Strasburg, Abbé of Mouzon and of Mont-Saint-Quentin, and territorial lord of Liège? He had very ordinary abilities, and was weak and conceited; he preferred bad company, was said to drink more than he ought, and at a shooting party in his own diocese fired twice on a private gentleman's game-keeper and killed him because the man had respectfully requested him to observe that he was not upon his own land; but this was a trifle. At the Liège revolution he considered himself called to become prince-bishop, went to take possession of the regency and established himself in the palace, but he did not remain there long. He returned to France, emigrated, came back at the Consulate, and at the Empire "he hastened, sole of his name, to offer himself." On the 27th of April 1805 (7th Floréal Year XIII.), he was appointed First Almoner to the Empress; this was not what he had intended; he had quite believed that the new Sovereign would be glad to re-establish a Rohan in the Grand Almonry. He was given the reversion of the post to console him. True, he was sixty-seven years old, and Fesch, the incumbent, was only forty-two, but Rohan had faith. He fared ill upon it, however; he had expected a salary of 40,000 francs, and in fact he was paid on that scale in Year XIII., but the sum fell afterwards to 20,000. He received nothing from St. Domingo, where he

owned an estate, was deeply in debt, and declared that he was in danger of arrest; accordingly he was constantly clamouring either for a cardinal's hat, a seat in the Senate, or a big sum on the Grand Livre. Napoleon flung him a gratuity of 24,000 or 12,000 francs from time to time; he even gave him the Star of the Legion, and, in 1808, conferred the title of count on this Rohan who, like the others, carried the proud motto, "Roi ne puis, Prince ne daigne, Rohan suis." Did Prince Ferdinand inscribe his former motto on a waved band beneath his new arms, party per pale de Rohan and de Bretagne in the first quarter of the shield of the Counts-Archbishops?

He died on the 30th of October, 1813, completely ignored; is it not worthy of remark that this urgent applicant for favours in the early days of the Empire was cousin-germane of the Duc d'Enghien, that his nomination was signed just one year after the execution at Vincennes, and that nobody said anything against it?

Ordinary as the personage was he was a Rohan, and thus the Empress's Household was adorned by one of the greatest names of old France in one of its chief posts; but Joséphine had nothing to do with this; she had no share in the nomination; the Prince came of his own accord to take the place which his ancestors had occupied, without appearing to perceive the change of masters. The case stands apart and without parallel.

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After the First Almoner came the Lady-in-waiting, who had the same pre-eminence in the Empress's Household as the Grand Chamberlain in the Emperor's, that is to say she was the head of the Chamber service and regulated it for the Ladies of the Palace as well as for the Chamberlains, even for the bearer of the title of First Chamberlain in the Appartement d'honneur. If she was present it was she who did the honours; it was she who regulated presentations and invitations, she presented the officers and ladies who came to take the oath; she kept the account of

donations from the privy purse and the accounts of salaries and wages for the Chamber payment. She was entitled to an apartment wherever the Empress went, and presided at the table of the suite. She had a secretary at a salary of 6,000 francs. In her absence her place was supplied by the Lady of the Bedchamber, whose special duties, according to the regulation, were the administration and superintendence of everything material and personal belonging to the wardrobe of the Empress.

The Ladies of the Palace had no duties but those of representation: four were in waiting together, two on 'petit service' and two on 'grand service.' The latter took their places in the Appartement d'honneur to receive the persons who had audience of the Empress, or they remained with her, according to her own wish or the rules of etiquette, and they accompanied her when she went out; the other two remained at their homes, but held themselves in readiness for calls. It was of obligation for them to attend Mass at the Palace, and they were summoned for all the Drawing-rooms and every occasion on which the Empress, without requiring her whole Court, required the attendance of her entire personal suite. The Ladies of the Palace had precedence of all the ladies, even the wives of the great officers, and on being presented by the Lady-in-waiting, they had the honour of taking the oath between the hands of the Empress.

The Chamberlains who shared the attendance in the Appartement d'honneur with the Ladies of the Palace, had command of the valets de chambre and the ushers, and superintended the interior arrangements. Three only were in waiting each quarter, and of those three only one, changed each week, was on day duty; he had to remain always in the Appartement d'honneur. He had a room in the Palace, but rather for dressing than sleeping purposes. The First Chamberlain, who had no distinction beyond his title, his salary of 30,000 francs and a somewhat larger key, took his turn of attendance like his colleagues, but at the head of the list. That list, however, was of little use, for the Empress allotted the turns as she liked, and especially according to the convenience of each and all. The Ladies of the Palace and the Chamberlain were

supposed to have their meals at the table of the Lady-in-waiting, but the Grand Marshal's table was frequently the only one served for all the persons of the two Households.

Such was La Chambre : let us see how Joséphine recruited its components, for this was one of her failures, one of her shortcomings as a sovereign, and the entire responsibility was indisputably hers, especially at the beginning, and touching the choice of her ladies.

Five promotions are to be recorded : the first was immediately after the proclamation of the Empire ; it was the most numerous ; it gave the tone to the Household and established its character (20th of June 1804—1st Messidor Year XII). The persons were relations or connections of the Beauharnais, ladies who had been appointed to do the honours of the Consular Palace at the Life Consulate, certain school-friends of Hortense, and some women of the old régime who, although not unknown, were not of the highest rank.

No amalgamation was possible between elements so unlike and heterogeneous. The jealousy arising from difference of birth, inequality of fortune, and dissimilarity in the habits of life, was an obstacle to begin with. But there was an even greater misfortune for Joséphine. Some of those readiest and most ruthless in crying her down were among the persons whom she had selected on account of kindred, connection, or former relations with them—a serious mistake, for thereby she constantly recalled the recollection of the time when she was Madame de Beauharnais, a recollection which she ought to have effaced with all her might if she wanted to establish her sovereign position. They took nothing seriously, neither the Empire, the Empress, nor the place they held. They naturally remembered the past, were aware of certain adventures and weak points, and the 'Sacre,' the Coronation, the Pope and the Emperor, all united, had failed to change "the little Tascher" in their sight, or to give her prestige. It ill betides that the origin of the gods should be known ; a dense cloud ought to veil their earliest ages.

The worst of all in this respect was the highest in dignity, she who assumed the direction of the Household and who only could control its spirit : the Lady-in-waiting.

It was for her name that Joséphine chose her, in order to gain importance by the presence of so ultra noble a kinswoman in the eyes of her husband, the public, and perhaps, her own—a La Rochefoucauld—it had a fine sound, and to be cousin to a La Rochefoucauld showed that one came of a good stock. The lady's relationship, it is true, was to the late M. de Beauharnais, and not to Mademoiselle Tascher, and whether it were double or triple, it was not on the La Rochefoucauld side, but, through Madame de La Rochefoucauld, on that of the Pyvart family. These Pyvarts who had bestowed the 'de Chastulé' upon themselves, were of doubtful nobility, the first of their name having been an ordinary counsellor to the Court in the Chambre des Comptes of Blois, but they had risen, and above all they had grown rich, so much so that one of them, the last male of the family, after having been captain in the Garde for a long time, had retired in 1781 with the rank of brigadier-general and the cross of Saint Louis. The mother of Joséphine's first husband, Alexandre de Beauharnais, was a Pyvart, and two other alliances between the families existed ; but during the life of Alexandre, Joséphine had no relations with the Pyvarts, and when this cousin married Alexandre-François de La Rochefoucauld, second son of the Duc de Liancourt, she could not have known her, for the marriage was celebrated in June, 1788, and in that same month Joséphine left France for Martinique. When she returned in 1790, how could they have become acquainted? Was not the lady still separated from her husband? The Revolution was in progress. Alexandre de La Rochefoucauld had emigrated, being "outlawed," he said, "for having aided in trying to save the King and Queen." Madame de La Rochefoucauld was imprisoned as 'suspecte' at Port-Libre. The probability is that the two women met on coming out of prison, and then became acquainted. Madame de La Rochefoucauld did not, in fact, leave France at all ; her husband rejoined her in 1795, and the pair then lived at

Mello. Relations between them and Joséphine became so intimate that, through Joséphine's influence, Alexandre de La Rochefoucauld, though only just struck off the proscribed list, was appointed Prefect of Seine-et-Marne on the 11th Ventôse, Year VIII (2nd of March, 1800). The following year (Ventôse Year IX — March 1801), he was made Chargé d'Affaires at Dresden, and on the 24th Vendémiaire, Year X (16th of October, 1801), Minister. Madame de La Rochefoucauld had exerted herself a good deal in this matter. Hardly had she learned that Joséphine was going to Plombières than she felt the immediate necessity of a course of the waters, and her 'cure' procured her a legation in addition.

Nevertheless, although she was now 'dear Cousin' and a correspondence was thenceforth established, "she paraded," it appears, "all the opinions of those who were called aristocrats during the Revolution;" it was even said that she was "among those persons who did not go to the Tuileries in the evening, and who, having divided that palace into two very different regions, thought they might, without derogating from their opinions and their recollections, present themselves in Madame Bonaparte's apartments on the ground floor in the morning, and so escape the obligation of recognizing the power on the first floor." This is not a correct statement: dating from 5th Frimaire (27th of November, 1803), Madame de La Rochefoucauld was present at all the Drawing-rooms and if, as Madame de Rémusat states, she got up an extremely violent scene with Joséphine on the occasion of the death of the Duc d'Enghien, if she then said: "As for me, my feelings are so incensed that if your Consul came into this room I should fly from him as one flies from a wild beast," her impressions were undoubtedly transient, for, a few days later, she was present at a Drawing-room.

Can we believe that it was very difficult to induce this lady to accept a place at the Imperial Court? Very likely Joséphine was infinitely more desirous of her acceptance than Napoleon, and that in order to procure it she had to "multiply requests and importunities." This does not involve the assumption of an attitude of refusal by Madame de La Rochefoucauld, but only her assumption of it to the outer world, where she

gave a fabulous account of the price she had put upon her consent. The value of an individual is assessed at the price which has been paid for him, or for her, and the public report was that Madame de La Rochefoucauld held out until the terms were fixed at 400,000 francs 'down,' a salary of 100,000 francs for herself, 15,000 francs increase of salary and a pension of 12,000 francs for her husband. These figures must be reduced; nevertheless, besides her salary as Lady-in-waiting fixed at 40,000 francs, she had a supplement equal to it; her husband, made commandant of the Legion of Honour on the 25th Prairial, Year XII. (14th of June, 1804), received a gratuity of 20,000 francs on the 20th Fructidor (7th of September), was promoted on the 11th Nivôse, Year XIII. (1st of January, 1805), to the Embassy of Vienna, and there, in addition to his salary of 150,000 francs, he received each year a gratuity of 40,000 francs and the expenses of his establishment were paid at the rate of from 53,000 to 80,000 francs. This M. de La Rochefoucauld was a very indifferent agent, incapable of obtaining information, and indeed of understanding what was passing in the capital where he resided; it was certainly not for his merit that he was so richly rewarded. Let us see whether his wife's deserts were so great as to warrant such prodigal recognition?

Mademoiselle Pyvart was not born in the great world, she was brought up far from the Court, and not even presented after her marriage. She was married for her money, which was derived partly from Blois but specially from St. Domingo. She was a very small woman, so short of stature that at table she had a cushion in her chair like a child; her figure was slightly crooked—her dear friends called her a hunchback—but her clever face was lighted up by fine blue eyes with black ashes, and in spite of its thin, malign lips, and sharp nose, was not unattractive; the portrait-painters have made the most of her charms. "Forward as ill made women are who have had some success in spite of their deformity," taking credit for her physical defects, doing the honours of them herself, so to speak, given to strong expressions and regarding herself as sufficiently 'grande dame' to say anything she pleased, she was the least fitted

of women by nature and education to hold such a position, although she knew very well how to get the most out of it. This she did so effectually that her daughter, on failure of becoming Catholic and legitimate Queen of the Spains, did become Princess Aldobrandini Borghese, sister-in-law of Princess Pauline, and received a dowry of 800,000 francs from the Emperor, not to speak of other benefits. She got his embassies for her husband, and these not only procured large sums of money, but also the supreme satisfaction of his absence. She did equal discredit to her office and harm to Joséphine, to whom she owed the rapid rise of her strange fortune. Her sayings were current in the Faubourg Saint-Germain; for instance, when she had to put on full-dress (grand habit), "Let us go and get up the Show" (habiller le Magot); and on another occasion, when she arrived in a 'round' gown at the abode of Cambacérès, who was very strict, as we know, on the subject of Court-dress: "I beg your Highness's pardon, I have just come from the Empress." In 1806, at Mayence, she went too far: she remembered—or imagined—that she had known the Prince of Prussia, and mourned for him more than if he had been a relation. She also had the good taste to proclaim her belief that the French would inevitably be beaten by the Prussians, and when the event failed to justify her forecast, she flew into a rage and gave vent to her displeasure in insolence to Joséphine. The Emperor was then seriously disposed to demand her resignation, but time passed on, he forgave, or ceased to care about the offence, and Madame de La Rochefoucauld persisted in her strain, but with a change of key. She made no positive statement, but would assume an incredulous manner, the air of one who is profiting by people and things without believing in them, and smile meaningly at other enemies of the régime as sharers in the joke. Her attitude, in short, was the sort of thing that may be observed among the servants of nouveaux-riches, while the forms of respect are maintained, but she had all the spite of a hunchback if she met with opposition in any quarter, and especially from her own people, or if she suspected that any blame or sarcasm was levelled at her. Then she would be pitiless,



MADAME SAVARY DUCHESSE DE ROVIGO

Peint by Gérard



fierce, unrelenting, and take her revenge under the guise of duty. Duty however, concerned her but slightly; it was only when she found it to her interest, or she was absolutely constrained, that she was at her post; she did not preside at her official table; she did not inhabit her official apartment; she did nothing that she could contrive to avoid.

Probably there was worse than this in the background, and her part in certain dark intrigues which appear least odious when we can be persuaded that their motive was merely money, may be suspected. The place of secretary to the Lady-in-waiting had been given, on the formation of the Household, to one Bildebert, whose reputation was good Madame de La Rochefoucauld replaced this Bildebert, on the 1st Ventôse, Year XIII. (20th of February, 1805), by a certain Loistron Ballon de Luigny, whose father had been valet de chambre to the Comte d'Artois, and who had held the reversion of the place himself. This Luigny, whose livelihood was ostensibly derived from uncertain employment as a translator from English, had kept up correspondence with his former master through the brothers Bourlet, who were the central 'agents of intelligence,' and he held an important position in the organisation of the secret police. It was, therefore, a master-stroke to introduce him into the Household of the Empress, where he might learn and detect many things, and even, at some time, play a decisive part. The funds of the privy purse being in his hands would be certain not to go to any but the 'right-thinking,' since it was he who received information concerning applicants as it was collected. These funds also supplied him with pocket-money, and out of the alms he maintained sumptuously a certain Madame de Campestre, whose record is singularly edifying. Was Madame de La Rochefoucauld—who signed the accounts of M. de Luigny, received Madame de Campestre, gave security with Prince de Poix for de Luigny, and had procured for him a salary of 3,000 francs, with 6,000 francs for office expenses—completely ignorant of the infamy of her protégé and unconscious of the danger in which she was placing her Sovereigns? This is too much for us to ask.

She thought to make a winning stroke when the divorce came, by

resigning her post; making certain that thus she would not have to go with her benefactress, and would be appointed Lady-in-waiting to the new Empress; but she played it badly. The Emperor discerned that there was only a de La Rochefoucauld trick in this; he had not forgotten the scenes at Mayence; the tone of the lady displeased him as much as her negligence and her deportment. He merely accepted the resignation without even granting the 'Honneurs Conservés' to the dismissed Lady-in-waiting, that is to say the entrée to the Salle du Trône, which the officers of dissolved Households received almost of right. In order to obtain these honours Madame de La Rochefoucauld, who had entirely forgotten the way to Malmaison, had to learn the way to Navarre. The one only journey she made thither coincides with the decision that Joséphine obtained for her from the Emperor. This was the last time that Madame de La Rochefoucauld saw her alive; it is said that she wept for her, dead. Did she weep for sorrow that nothing more was to be got out of her?

Madame Lavallette, the Lady of the Bedchamber, had no such faults as these; but, if Napoleon reckoned upon checking the folly of the Empress's expenditure on dress, preventing her discreditable and useless transactions with tradespeople, and establishing order and rule in the general expenses, Joséphine brought all his fine projects to naught by reserving the selection of the Lady of the Bedchamber to herself. She purposely made choice of a person who was poor, humble, of no distinguished name, unaccustomed to the great world, and in absolute subjection to her. This person was Emilie de Beauharnais, a niece of Alexandre de Beauharnais. She had been forsaken by her father, an émigré, and by her mother, a divorcée married to a coloured man; was rescued by Joséphine, who placed her with Madame Campan, and was married in two days to an aide-de-camp of Bonaparte's, because Louis Bonaparte was suspected of being in love with her. This aide-de-camp was a very fine fellow; with intellect of a high and readily-adaptable order, and courage rarely equalled; he belonged to an obscure Parisian family of small shop-

keepers, whose name is not even known with certainty—it was Chamans or Chamant. He was educated by the charity of Bandeloque the accoucheur; at the Revolutionary period he was in orders; now he was a captain. He had no fortune. The bride possessed 15,000 francs, the gift of Bonaparte, and during the expedition to Egypt she had to live at Fontainebleau with her maternal grandmother, Fanny de Beauharnais. There she had small pox, and was much marked, to her great grief. She felt the misfortune thus deeply, not on account of the man whom she had married, but for the sake of him whom she had loved, whom she continued to love, but he slighted her when he returned from Egypt. She fell into a profound melancholy; the whole of her experience, her childhood passed in prisons, the trials of her youth, her poverty, her mother, her father, who had set up another home for himself, on his return from emigration accompanied by a German canoness; all these were accountable for her wretched and hopeless state. In addition, the poor woman had been injured in her confinement (April 1802), and she suffered much from the constant standing enjoined by etiquette. Who could wonder at "her monotonous calm coldness, her statue-like bearing?"

Very naturally she was disposed to be fidgety, and her melancholy must have been annoying—there was a physiological reason for her mental condition as well as its moral causes, her father and mother being cousins-germane—but it seems that Joséphine, Hortense, and even Stéphanie de Beauharnais, whom a strange turn of fortune was to make Princess of Baden, treated her as a Cinderella and said many ill-natured things to her. At least she thought them ill-natured, and that was all the same to her.

Naturally Emilie would have wished to be treated as a niece; but Joséphine, on the contrary, must have desired—and in this she was right—that Madame Lavallette should not appear to recall family ties (these did not exist, moreover), or even to remember them, but scrupulously keep her place; on the other hand, however, the Empress did not allow her niece to fulfil any of the duties of that place.

Hence continual pin-pricks, a dependence which Josephine made her

feel keenly, multiplied tasks imposed upon her, and above all the sense that she could not do her duty, and had a responsibility with respect to the Emperor in which she consciously failed. The Lady of the Bedchamber who, according to rule, had the selection and superintendence of the people employed, was in reality constantly set at defiance by the wardrobe-women who had been with Joséphine since the Consulate, and who alone had any share in her confidence and were admitted to intimacy.

On a fixed day in every week the tradesmen had to present themselves; she had to keep a register of orders and purchases, and to deliver the cheques; but the tradesmen arrived at all hours, got in in spite of all orders, and who cared for the Lady of the Bedchamber's register?

Nor was this all; in January, 1809, when the Emperor, weary of paying Joséphine's debts, insisted on her having an Intendante des atours, who was to order and receive goods under the direct orders of the Lady of the Bedchamber, without allowing the amount of the credits to be exceeded, that Intendante, Madame Hamelin, almost immediately came to an understanding with Joséphine. She applied herself to increasing the orders, bestirred herself to find usurers who would lend money, and established herself on a footing of equality. Madame Lavallette was at once involved in a conflict with her: the Lady of the Bedchamber won, but only after giving battle. Surely the distaste that Madame Lavallette felt for her Court life was easy of explanation! She was in no way prepared for a life in which ignorance on certain points was worse than grave faults. Having to indicate the costumes to be worn by the Ladies of the Palace, she did not know which was the time for the 'Grand habit,' and which for the 'robe ronde,' and the Emperor grew angry. "Even for that," he said, "she is no good." What could she do? How could she prevent Joséphine's debts, or her familiarity with tradespeople? Thus, without intending it, without knowing it, she assisted to lower her aunt's dignity. It was felt to be impossible to take the Empress seriously between the Lady-in-waiting who sneered at her, and the Lady of the Bedchamber whom her women helped her to deceive.

These two ladies, who held the chief positions in the Household did not owe them to the names, the fame or the offices of their husbands, but solely to Josephine's caprice or pleasure: the case of the others was very much the same, and there was even less reason for the selection of some among them. It would certainly have been hard-hearted and ungrateful to dismiss, at the creation of the Empire, the four ladies who had been appointed in the month of Frimaire Year XI (November 1802) to do the honours of the Consular Palace with Madame Bonaparte. At that period a kind letter was written to each: "The First Consul's personal knowledge of your character and of your principles makes him confident that you will acquit yourself of them (the honours) with the politeness that distinguishes the ladies of France and the dignity that becomes the Government." No less was requisite to induce some of these ladies to accept a post which was undoubtedly honourable, but nevertheless had neither the distinction, the pleasure, nor the honours of a place at Court, the splendour to which Bonaparte had raised the Consulate notwithstanding. To offer such a mission to ladies who had held the highest rank in the former social system was not to be thought of, and it was considered fortunate that women were found to accept it belonging mostly to a certain class of financiers who, having been agents of the Bourbon Court and being allied by marriage to the high nobility, had at least the habits and ways of a distinguished 'world,' even though they were not trained in the etiquette of the royal circle.

Of this number was Madame Le Gendre de Lucay, whose own name was Papillon d'Auteroche: she was the niece of Papillon de la Ferté who had been Intendant of the Menus. She was of kin to all the wealthiest farmers-general: her husband, the grandson of the famous Bouret, being the son of Farmer-general Le Gendre de Villemorien, and herself a very near relation of the Durfort family. The Le Gendre family was of noble origin and had a count palatine's title of 1677 in it; several of their name had occupied civil posts and obtained rank in the army and in the navy; but the marriage with Mademoiselle Bouret had thrown them

finally into Finance. Their very considerable property comprised, among other estates, that of Valencay, which was bought for 620,000 livres in 1765. They had added the estate of de Lucay and the comté of Veuil to this, the whole making more than forty thousand acres; of these fifteen thousand were under timber. M. de Lucay, who had been his father's assistant in his two posts, those of Administrator of the Postal service and Farmer-general, had devoted himself to making his woods pay, and had acquired such influence in his department that he had been elected administrator of it. Although he had seen singularly evil days during the Revolution, he had not emigrated, and had preserved both his property and his influence. The First Consul had consulted the wishes of the people by nominating him Prefect of the Cher, and had placed him afterwards about his own person as Prefect of the Palace. Madame de Lucay was chiefly induced (notwithstanding her fortune and her position) to accept a post in the household of Madame Bonaparte, whom she did not know and from whom she had not solicited anything, in order that she might not be parted from her husband. She was born in the same year as the Emperor, had an agreeable face, a good figure, and a thorough knowledge of the world and society. Fault-finders could tax her with nothing worse than over-obligingness and a touch of affectation.

Outside the Palace she lived in great style, and received the best society at her hotel in Paris, Rue d'Angoulême-Saint-Honoré, also at her country place at Saint-Gratien, which she bought after she had sold Valençay to M. de Talleyrand—this estate comprised five hundred acres and included the whole of the Montmorency pond—and notwithstanding all her efforts to make her hours fit in with those of the Empress, and to be ready at the right time when she was in attendance, she had been too much accustomed to freedom and independence in her daily life not to fail in punctuality occasionally. The Emperor, to whom she invariably manifested a devotion which his reverse of fortune never shook, did not resent this, and always employed her on occasions of special honour. In 1807, she acted as Lady-in-waiting to the Princess of Wurtemberg who

had come to Paris to be married to Jerôme and in 1810 she was appointed Lady-of-the-Bedchamber to the new Empress. Her daughter, Lucie de Lucay, was a very pretty slender girl; she had beautiful black eyes, full of dusky fire, with long sweeping lashes: she was sought in marriage by both M. Lepelletier d'Aunay and M. de Rochambeau, but she preferred to either Philippe de Ségur, then Major in a cavalry regiment and quartermaster to the Emperor, afterwards General and Governor of the Pages. Him she married on the 25th of September, 1806, under the auspices of the Empress, to whose Household she was attached as a 'supernumerary lady.' She died at twenty-seven in consequence of an imprudence, to the sincere grief of the Court with which she was so closely connected, and the regret of Society where she was a general favourite.

Next to Madame de Luçay, among the ladies of the Consulate, Madame de Talhouët held the highest position. Joséphine had met her at Plombières, and having formed an intimacy with her, secured her acceptance. Her husband, formerly an officer in the King's regiment, belonged to a family of ancient Breton nobility, dating from the 13th century, which was maintained in its rank at the reformations of 1426 and 1669, but was ruined, entered into the class of the professions (la robe) in the 17th century, and lastly applied for certificates of indigence to obtain places at Saint-Cyr. Madame de Talhouët was by birth a Baude de La Vieuville, a family which must not be confounded with La Vieuville (marquises and dukes of La Vieuville) although these Baudes had succeeded in getting the lands of Châteauneuf, which they had bought from the Beringhems, again raised to a marquisate in 1746. Her brother, who afterwards entered the Household as a chamberlain, had married, being then a lieutenant in the Gardes, Mademoiselle du Cheylar, widow of the Marquis de Lambertye, the lady to whom d'Antraigues alludes in his correspondence as "the Friend" and who played a strange part in the conspiracies.

Madame de Talhouët owned a fine estate in La Sarthe, had her husband made a member of the General Council and President of the Electoral College there: in Year XII. he received the cross of the Legion, and

in 1809 he was made a Count of the Empire. In 1802, Madame de Talhouët had married her eldest daughter to General Joseph Lagrange; she married the second, in 1809, to M. Lecouteulx de Canteleu, and in 1817, she secured as a bride for her son, formerly an orderly officer to the Emperor, one of the daughters of M. Roy, the financier, formerly 'farmer' to the Dues de Bouillon, whose speculations in the national funds had rendered him one of the wealthiest men in Europe. All this indicated ability of no common order; besides, "the black and active eyes" of Madame de Talhouët were sufficiently significant to reveal her character; but although she was so intelligent, although she dressed well and in a fashion younger than her age, she held only "one of those money-made positions" in society which even then produced but little impression and did not confer rank.

Next, a place had to be given to Madame de Lauriston, whose husband had made part of the Military Household from the time of its formation. He had had the same promotion as Napoleon, and, having retired as major in Year IV., he had returned in Year VIII. as aide de camp to the Consul. He was a grand-nephew of Law, the son of one Law, who had come into the King's service from that of the India Company and had died as quar' master. Madame de Lauriston, *née* Leduc, was the daughter of a quartermaster of artillery, and the sister of the Comtesse de la Bouère who played a part in the wars of La Vendée. She was regarded by general consent as charming alike in person and mind; everybody admired her exemplary conduct, and Napoleon bestowed continual marks of his esteem and consideration upon her, whatever his grievance against "his handsome aide de camp" might be. Material proofs of this are supplied by his letter to her written from Finkenstein on the 5th of April 1807, and the pension of 48,000 francs which he granted her in 1813, for all the time that her husband should be a prisoner of war. As a witness, whose failing was not generally on the side of indulgence, said of her: "she bears on her face the calm of a good conscience and her beauty wonderfully becomes her virtue."



LA MARECHALE NEY DUCHESSE D'ELCHINGEN

Peinte par Gérard

Gravée par M. [illegible] de la Maison

of M. 1.



Madame de Rémusat (Mademoiselle Claire Gravier de Vergennes) came last, on account of her own age, her husband's quality, the services which he had rendered, and those which he might render. Only the concurrence of strange circumstances by which the Vicomtesse de Beauharnais and Mesdemoiselles de Vergennes were brought together in the Chanorier household at Croissy during the Revolution, could have made Joséphine think of the Rémusats. When she suggested the husband's being made Prefect of the Palace, the First Consul strongly opposed the idea. "What services has he rendered?" asked Bonaparte. "What has he done to be about the Chief of the State?" He belonged to a bourgeois family which got a rise in rank by holding civic office at Marseilles, and by certain marriages; he had held for seven or eight years the post of Advocate-General at the Provence Chambre des Comptes; this he had got by his first marriage with Mademoiselle de Saqui-Sanes whose father held it. His brother, a Marseilles merchant who emigrated to Smyrna, and was there during almost the whole of the Revolution, had been, in 1797, one of the obscure royalist deputies whose powers were invalidated by the 18th Fructidor. As for Mademoiselle de Vergennes, whom he had married in 1796, although she bore a name which was celebrated in European diplomacy she was not directly descended from the Finance Minister of Louis XVI.; she was the granddaughter of his brother who had been made ambassador to Switzerland by the Minister. These Gravier brothers, sons of an attorney at the Dijon Cour des Comptes, and grandsons of a treasurer of France at the exchequer of the same town, owed their fortune to their double alliance with those Chavignards who, having usurped the name of Chauvigny and being presented at Court as such, had the adventures which Saint-Simon has related, and finally made their way under their third name of Chavigny.

The Rémusats were hardly prepared to occupy a place at Court; but they were very poor. Monsieur was begging for some employment, Madame, whose father had been guillotined, had not a sou; Joséphine, who was tenacious of purpose, insisted upon having them, and made the wife her favourite. The pair were not to be pitied. A salary of 25,000 francs

for Monsieur as Prefect of the Palace, 12,000 for Madame 'to accompany' Madame Bonaparte; these were fixed sums : in the first year (XI) a gratuity of 6,000 francs for his having charge of the Théâtre Francais, 50,000 francs as a gratuity extraordinary on the 17th Prairial (6th June); 30,000 francs at the time of the 'voyage' to Belgium, and, at Brussels, a present of lace which cost 5,000 francs,—total : 122,000 francs; in the Year XII, the salary of Monsieur raised to 30,000 francs, a present of 42,000 francs on account of the Théâtres; a gratuity extraordinary of 10,000 francs on the 28th Brumaire, another of 200,000 francs on the 28th Messidor (it was from the 12th to the 26th Brumaire, that Madame de Rémusat made the visit to Pont-de-Briques, which gave rise to so much comment); then in Year XII. nearly 300,000 francs. Equal good fortune in Year XIII., Year XIV., and 1806—then, dating from November 1807, a supplementary salary of 5,000 francs a month, 60,000 francs a year. "No generosity!" Madame de Rémusat has said of Napoleon : what did she want!

She was clever, certainly, and she was very well-informed, but also pedantic : that may be seen by a glance at her *Essai sur l'éducation des Femmes*. She had frequented the survivors of the society of La Chevrette, the penultimate women-votaries of Jean Jacques, and quite the last of Saint-Lambert, too much not to be taken with literary people, and not to want to write; but she applied herself to serious business in the first place, and made a fortune by means of Joséphine, whom she governed. From the wife, she aspired to pass on to the husband, but was less successful there; then she directed the Théâtre Français, received pieces, tutored the actors, tragic and comic, and, after 1807, meddled with whatever was sung, danced, or played. She posed for the 'serious', and had had in her train, Guizot, Villemain, then quite a youth, Leclerc who dedicated his *Éloge de Montaigne* to her, even Chateaubriand, who—(the fact is omitted in the *Mémoires d'Outre-tombe*)—did not scorn to ask her to mention his debts to the Emperor—and the Emperor paid them! From 1807 to 1809, she exercised a real influence; but that influence, which she partly owed to Talleyrand—(for it was he who had assured the Emperor

that she was just the person to organize a salon where society people and literary people might meet and their talk be overheard—she lost through Talleyrand. She was so closely linked with him that she could refuse him nothing; she managed to bring him and Fouché together at the time of the campaign in Spain, and was in the conspiracy, or, at least, she knew of it. Napoleon, on his return after the great scene with the Prince of Benevento, did not entirely cut off the supplies, but reduced the supplementary salaries, first, to 36,000 francs, and then (1810) to 24,000, and, although he retained the husband as Chamberlain, he did not put the wife into the new Empress's Household, but left her with Joséphine. After that she broke loose, and being entirely in Talleyrand's hands, was so closely mixed up with his intrigues that at the final crisis he allotted one of the most important parts in the drama to her. She played it uncommonly well, and thought herself very ill-paid by the Prefecture of the Haute-Garonne. It was this woman who wrote of Châteaubriand's pamphlet *De Buonaparte et les Bourbons*: "I would sign every page of this book to attest that it is a faithful picture of all that I witnessed."

Nothing in her appearance indicated either the baseness of her nature or the extent of her ability: she was a small woman, rather plump, with large, bright, lively eyes, a restless prying nose; there was not much in her features, but a great deal that was pleasing and bright in her countenance. Was not she both? Is not the portrait which her Memoirs place before us a reflection of that of Talleyrand, her director, the man who, dating from a certain period of her life, exercised complete control over her? Her letters are those of an amiable woman, rather meddling and pedantic: her Memoirs were approved, if not dictated, by Talleyrand.

There were differences, as we have seen, between these four ladies, but not one was of the highest rank, not one of them, before the Revolution, would have had a chance of obtaining a place in the Queen's Household; but, as their services were continued on the proclamation of the Empire, their priority placed them first on the list, and afterwards regulated the tone of the other nominations to some extent. Among

those who come after, we find, first, a woman who, like Madame de La Rochefoucauld and Madame Lavallette, was related to Joséphine, but directly this time, through the Taschers : therefore she was not treated either as cousin or niece : this was Madame Savary, *née* Faudoas-Barbazan, and whose mother, *née* Buttet, a St. Domingo Creole, had been previously Vicomtesse des Cars. The relationship came from the Buttet family, formerly very wealthy people. Mademoiselle de Faudoas, who was educated with Hortense at Madame Campan's school, would not sacrifice herself to a great name as her mother had done, but had married Savary, who, having previously been aide de camp to Desaix, had become aide de camp to the First Consul after Marengo. Savary, although he had gained all his steps since 1790, belonged to one of those noble families, devoted to military service, who had made the monarchy and constructed France, and his father, a retired cavalry captain, a Knight of Saint-Louis, and town-major at Sedan, was quite as good as the des Cars and the Faudoas. Madame Savary, who was marvellously handsome, an accomplished musician, and remarkable for the elegance of her dress and the way she wore it, has the honour of sharing the obloquy which certain chroniclers have heaped upon her husband, because he was and remained the faithful, devoted, and incorruptible servant of his benefactor. She rendered much service to several who then boasted of their relationship and, when misfortune came to her in her turn, closed their doors against her, but she held her head none the less high for that and was ever the same great lady in mind, heart, and bearing.

Madame Savary, being at once of kin to the Empress and the wife of one of the most devoted servants of the new régime, was quite in her place as one of the Household; Madame Ney and Madame Lannes were equally so. Both were wives of great officers of the Empire, both were very handsome, and fit for their position, if not by birth, at least by education.

The Auguié family, that of Madame Ney, had belonged to the Queen's domestic establishment—her mother and her two aunts, the Demoiselles Genet, were dressers to Marie Antoinette—she herself had been educated

with Hortense at Madame Campan's school, and owed her marriage to Madame Bonaparte. Madame Lannes was of like origin; before the Revolution, her father, M. Guéhéneuc, of an ancient and noble Breton family, had been valet de chambre to the King. Madame Ney was a handsome brunette, with superb black eyes; she was rather thin, her countenance was gentle and intelligent, her hands and feet were beautiful. Madame Lannes was handsomer still, her virginal face had perfectly regular features, her complexion was incomparably fair; the two ladies seemed made to adorn a Court. Madame Ney, very proud of her rank, and determined to support it by a large expenditure, lived in a style equalled by very few under the Empire, and easily got through the income of a million francs which Ney derived from his places and endowments. The purchase and furnishing of her hôtel in the Rue de Lille cost eleven hundred thousand francs, and everything was done on a similar scale. When she travelled, or went to a watering-place, she required her whole household, the articles of furniture she was accustomed to use, her bed, her expressly made silver plate, and all the style of a princess, as she was. And yet, notwithstanding that she was a real 'cantatrice,'—for her singing was far beyond amateur art, "she could read the most difficult passages at first sight," and notwithstanding her success as an actress in private theatricals, she was so shy, especially in the presence of the Emperor, that it was remarked, and it was inferred from it that she was not accustomed to good society. She loved the world for its sake and her own, but her family feeling was so strong that when she received, the family element pervaded her company, and its tone remained 'bourgeois' in consequence, as her relations had not been raised like herself to dignity and titles, but were satisfied with collectorships. Even foreigners were struck by this trait in her character, and it did her no little honour. Madame Lannes kept up much less state; indeed she kept up none at her hôtel in the Rue de Varennes, all the splendour being reserved for her country place, Maisons. This was not because she did not know the world and the Court thoroughly; she had served her apprenticeship in

Portugal, where she had remarkable success, but it bored her and she liked home best.

After these three, whose appointment was quite just and natural, and who took the places that belonged to them in the Household, we might be surprised to find the wife of a functionary, no doubt a highly honourable man and very clever in his business—that of the Enrolling Office *(l'Enregistrement)*—but was this likely to lead to a place at Court? Madame Duchatel, *née* Papin, owed her post to other motives, for, although she was a very pretty woman and dressed with remarkable elegance, the services of her husband did not account for her elevation, and certainly the Empress would not have chosen her.

These three names exhaust the new régime element, however: they are the whole of Joséphine's levy upon the thirty great officers of the Empire; the rest was connected with the old régime, in some cases with its first ranks, but nevertheless was not the 'fine fleur' called 'la noblesse de Cour.'

The Colberts, it is true, nearly approached that supreme distinction by reason of their services and connections, and Madame Auguste de Colbert was in many ways entitled to make part of the imperial Household. She had her 'grandes entrées' into the new world—whither she bore the splendour of a name made tenfold famous by the succession of illustrious men to whom it owed its nobility—in right of her father, General de Caneiaux, also a senator, who had twice over had the command in chief of the Republican armies in la Vendée, and was Ambassador from the Directory to Madrid and Naples, and through her husband, a brave soldier, one of the most distinguished officers in the cavalry. She was almost the only representative of both the past and the present, and "*ce sera une joie aux yeux de voir la guivre d'azur rehaussée encore du franc quartier des comtes militaires.*" Besides, she was one of "the most excellent persons at the Château." She was gentle, simple, very aimable, quite free from conceit and vanity; she adored her husband; her temper was always perfectly even, she bore herself with dignity under all circumstances, and thus she won the esteem of those who were hardest to please.

After her we may name Madame de Ségur, *née* d'Aguesseau and the last of her name. She belonged to the new régime through her father, who had declared for it from the first; he had been President of the Tribunal of the Seine, then Minister at Copenhagen and Senator, and also through her father-in-law, the former ambassador of Louis XVI. in Prussia and at Berlin, Counsellor of State during the Consulate, and Grand Master of Ceremonies to the Empire. Her husband, who had made a fair start as a man of letters, had been made Sub-prefect of Soissons in 1801. In 1805 he disappeared; this strange action was imputed by certain persons to domestic unhappiness, but it is more likely that he yielded to a morbid melancholy. He enlisted under an assumed name in a regiment in which his brother Philippe recognized him, some years later. He allowed himself to be made sub-lieutenant, captain, major, was taken prisoner in 1812, remained in Russia until the peace; then returned to France, where he fell into his former mental condition, and in 1818 he drowned himself.

Madame Octave de Ségur's position was then almost that of a widow: she enjoyed her liberty, but her reputation was unstained, although other women did not like her. She was very pretty, with her velvet eyes, and understood the art of collecting a group of the most agreeable men around her, so that she exercised a direct influence over her own circle. The hostility which she aroused is readily explained. She was said to be impatient of any constraint, and occasionally to be lacking in politeness: but above all, she had a distinguished name, a fine voice which she used to perfection, a very pleasing countenance, and a court: this was more than enough.

Notwithstanding the good birth of Madame de Ségur, a sub-prefectship for her husband was rather surprising; but the bonds between her and the Empire gave her a raison d'être at Court: for Madame de Serrant there was none. She was by birth a Rigaud de Vaudreuil, and was a cousin of the famous Comte de Vaudreuil, the friend of the Princes; her first husband was married to M. de Valady, a captain in the Guards, who was elected to the Convention in 1792, and was guillotined as a Girondist in the following year; in 1795, during the emigration, she married M. An-

toine Walsh de Serrant, formerly colonel in France of an Irish regiment of his name, and brigadier-general. M. Walsh was ugly, ill-tempered, and remarkably selfish, twenty-six years her senior, and a widower. His first wife was a Choiseul-Beaupré. Quiet was hardly restored in France ere he sent his wife back : she was very badly off and was taken into her house by Madame Lefebvre, Valady having been Lefebvre's captain when he was a sergeant in the Gardes. Owing to this kind action and the interest of the Lefebvres, Madame de Serrant began to settle her own and her husband's affairs, and got the latter struck off the roll of the proscribed. The Empire came : one morning her husband took Madame de Serrant to see Joséphine, and what was her astonishment to hear the Empress thank her, with perfect sincerity, for having asked to be placed in her Household. She had never thought of such a thing, but with her natural shyness, she kept silence ; she wished to write, but she was not allowed to do so ; thus she found herself a Lady of the Palace. She filled the position very well, and became sincerely attached to the Emperor, who, although he took pleasure in the society of M. de Serrant, did not bestow on him the senator's seat he so ardently desired, or even the Legion ; he only gave him the presidency of the electoral college of Finisterre. But, in the first place, she could live apart from her husband, and then she found amusement at Court which consoled her for a time, but did not fail to get her into difficulties afterwards. She had also other troubles : in pressing need for money she applied to the Emperor, and the hundred thousand francs which stand in her name in the table of debts to be repaid have never been claimed.

On the recommendation of M. Lecouteulx, and without any farther enquiry, Joséphine appointed a certain Madame de Barberot de Vellexon de Vaudey, a daughter of the illustrious General d'Arcon who died a senator. M. de Vaudey, a former captain of cavalry, had joined the Hussards de Bonaparte at the beginning of the Consulate. This seemed all as it should be ; but the lady had not been taken into account ; she was handsome, intelligent, audacious, equally unscrupulous and ill-conducted. It was found necessary

LA MARÉCHALE LANNES DUCHESSE DE MONTEBELLO



to dismiss her summarily on the 7th Brumaire, Year XIII. (29th of October, 1804) in consequence of occurrences which it is not necessary to relate here.

The only real great lady among this first batch of appointments, the most distinguished by birth and connections, also the least likely to be found in the imperial Court, was a Belgian, of German origin, the Comtesse d'Arberg de Vallengin, *née* Comtesse de Stolberg-Gedern. The Stolbergs, who were petty rulers of the Harz, feudal counts, and titled princes, had made their proofs at the beginning of the 12th century, and were allied with all the reigning houses of Germany. One of the two sisters of the Comtesse d'Arberg had married the Pretender, Charles Edward, and was known under the name of Countess of Albany, the other had married the Duke of Berwick. She herself was related by her marriage to all the greatest personages of the Low Countries, she had received the Starry Cross at Vienna, and, from 1784 to 1792, she had been Lady of the Palace to the Governess-Archduchess Marie-Christine. The French invasion brought ruin upon her, she was left with a helpless husband and four children: at Brussels in the time of the Consulate she had known Madame Bonaparte, who had been in intimate relations and correspondence with the Comtesse of Albany. The new Empress made special conditions with the Comtesse d'Arberg to induce her to join her Court. She only of all the Ladies of the Palace had board and lodging at the château and at all the residences; her eldest daughter, aged twenty-five, who remained with her, received the title of 'supernumerary lady' with 6,000 francs salary. Her son was made Chamberlain to the Emperor, and after he had been employed in the most confidential missions, he was set over the administration of the department of the Bouches-du-Weser. After her eldest daughter was married, by the intervention of the Emperor, to General and Senator Comte Klein, the second took her place at the Tuileries and was married, through the same influence, and with a similar dowry, to General Mouton, Comte de Lobau. And all this was well and rightly done; for Madame d'Arberg, tall, beautiful, with a fine figure and a noble bearing, of whom it was said that "there was distinction in the very folds of her

Court train," was also the best woman to be met anywhere and beloved by all the Household. In reality she held a far more important place than Madame de La Rochefoucauld and Madame Lavallette put together. She only was acquainted with the old nobility of the Low Countries and Germany; she only knew the Courts and their customs; she only could convey information and insinuate an opinion. Her continual presence, for even when travelling she was almost always with the Empress, made her the one indispensable guide, at least in everything concerning etiquette and the forms to be observed. No doubt the Emperor would have desired that her influence should extend beyond this, that Madame d'Arberg would elevate herself to the position of Mentor; but she had too much tact and intelligence not to feel that in certain matters her advice would be of no avail, and that Joséphine had some faults which belonged to her nature and could not be remedied. She put forth no claims, she did not court observation, she was unknown to the historians and slighted by the newsmongers of the period; nevertheless Madame d'Arberg was the only one of the Ladies of the Palace who played an active part, and really directed affairs by giving useful advice, and maintaining proper discipline in the establishment of the Empress.

When she was present, everything went right; when she was absent everything went astray. It was she who prompted Joséphine, and Joséphine willingly listened to her in all things relating to her post. This was known at the Palace; and the rebellious or the irregular were afraid of her steady gaze, and of her politeness with what might follow it.

The Comtesse d'Arberg was in her proper place, and therefore she did well in it: when the idea of making the Empress's surroundings solely imperial had been renounced, and it was resolved that the custom of the other Courts of Europe should be adopted, it became necessary to apply to women who knew the manners and the ways of Courts. According to this new system the selection of Madame d'Arberg was, in fact, not only the best that could be made, but the only one which was explicable and justifiable.

No doubt Napoleon was aware that he had been unwise in leaving the nominations at the disposal of Joséphine, for the four appointments subsequently made by him, from Year XIII. to 1806, were almost entirely in his own style, but, was he much more fortunate than she had been, did he succeed better than his wife in effecting a fusion at his Court similar to the fusion he was endeavouring to accomplish in the country? It is true that he raised the level, he had more distinguished names, but he had also others which were only bourgeois, or belonging to the small nobility, and he selected women of his personal acquaintance, of excellent education and distinguished manners undoubtedly, but who had not either been brought up or prepared for Court, whose birth did not entitle them to figure there, and whose husbands had not sufficient rank in the imperial hierarchy to entitle them to claim promotion of this kind. He selected them from remembrance, from gratitude, from some motive of feeling, just as Joséphine had made her choice from vanity; but the result was almost identical.

The promotion of the 5th Thermidor, Year XIII. (24th July, 1805) was reserved for the ladies of Piedmont and Liguria and must be regarded as a thing apart. These were Madame Perron de Saint-Martin, *née* Agentero de Berbeggio, wife of the former Grand Master of the Wardrobe to the King of Sardinia; Madame de Solaro de Villanova, *née* Coconito de Montiglione; Madame de Brignole-Sale, *née* Pieri; Madame Gentile; Madame de Lascaris-Vintimiglia-Castellar, *née* Caron de Saint-Thomas; lastly Mesdames de Remedi and de Fatigliano-Novello, who did not accept. The Italian ladies came to Paris for the two months only during which they were in waiting, they were taciturn and homesick while there, with only one exception. Of all the Ladies of the Palace none played a political part at Court with the exception of Madame de Brignole.

By her marriage, Anne Pieri belonged to a family of the highest rank at Genoa; several of its members had been Doges. The Brignoli were allied to all that is greatest in Italy: a Brignole, whose first husband was Prince of Monaco, had married the Prince de Condé in 1798, having been his mistress for a long time. Before she settled in Paris, Madame

de Brignole was a governing power in her own country; she made and unmade governments, took part in all the intrigues, and put her own protégés into all the places. She was called Queen Annette. She was not satisfied with Liguria, which would have been too small for her abilities, and, as she was equally acceptable at the Vatican and at the Tuileries from 1801, at the time of the negotiation for the Concordat, she had been concerned in the exchange of Monsignor Spina's letters with Rome. She was forty years old when she came to the Château, and although her conduct had been light, she was then only keeping up an old liaison with M. de Serra, who was called the Mirabeau of Liguria, and she succeeded in getting him appointed to a diplomatic post. She cared little for so trifling a matter as love, but lived entirely for intrigue and politics. She managed to get into Talleyrand's house, and soon became his accommodating friend, a sort of confidant, an ever ready accomplice; but at the same time, she kept up appearances, she did not, like him, compromise herself, but retained her hold on Napoleon's favour. She was not so foolish as to lose sight of the advancement of her family: one of her sons was placed with the Pope, made monsignore, then bishop, and was on his way to the cardinal's hat; she placed the other with the Emperor, made him Maître des Requêtes at the Council of State, then Prefect of the department of Montenotte—thus keeping up her authority over the Genoese—but this son, for whom she arranged a rich marriage with a Negroni, did not accommodate himself to greatness. She gained more distinction by the matches she made for her daughters: one of them married Count Charles Marescalchi, whose father acted at Paris as Minister for the Kingdom of Italy in its Foreign Relations; the other married Dalberg, a nephew of the Prince Primate, formerly Baden minister at Paris, who, after the pre-arrangement of his succession to his uncle, received a gift of 200,000 francs from Napoleon with the French title of duke. Talleyrand had not been inactive in the matter of these marriages, and Madame Brignole proved herself grateful to him. She held one of the foremost places and played an important part in that group of women who surrounded the Prince of Benevento, and who contributed more largely than

has been supposed to his final victory and the overthrow of the Empire.

Without this one figure, which deserves a prolonged and patient study, the Italian promotion would be too uninteresting to merit mention. Not so the French, which took place on three several occasions : 12th Pluviôse, Year XIII. (1st February, 1805), 1st Vendémiaire, Year XIV. (September 1805) and the 10th of February, 1806.

The appointments of 12th Pluviôse were five in number : Mesdames Devaux, de Montalivet, de Turenne, de Bouillé and de Maresco. We have no information concerning the motives for the selection of Madame Devaux. Her husband, Moisson-Devaux, belonged to a bourgeois family at Caen, and was President of the district of Bayeux in the revolutionary period; he had afterwards been deputy to 'the Five Hundred' and he died Mayor of Bayeux. She herself belonged to the noble family of Rotz de la Magdeleine, of the same town. "She had no fortune, nor any position of mark under the actual or the preceding régime;" but no doubt she had formed previous relations with Joséphine, for her son was subsequently given the appointment of Intendant of the Household of Queen Hortense, an extremely confidential post which would not have been conferred on any indifferent person. There is a mystery in this which has not been revealed by her daughter, the wife of M. Michau de Montaran, equerry to the Emperor, a lady who did a good deal of writing in addition to painting and composing music. "There was a personal reason for it," some one has said,—but what reason ?

As for Madame de Montalivet, she was that handsome Mademoiselle Lauberie de Saint-Germain, whom Napoleon had met at Valence, and, as he said, "loved her virtues and admired her beauty." He even wished to marry her at that time, but Mademoiselle de Saint-Germain, who was a very grand personage indeed, and, if only for that reason, could not put herself on a par with Lieutenant Bonaparte, had, besides, a liking for her cousin, M. Bachasson de Montalivet, whom she married in 1797. The First Consul, who had also known M. de Montalivet well and esteemed

him highly, remembered him on his accession to power; he made him Prefect of the Manche, then of Seine-et-Oise, and afterwards gave him the general direction of the Ponts et Chaussées, with the Ministry of the Interior to follow. Madame de Montalivet had not solicited the place of Lady of the Palace, and she did not accept it unconditionally. "Your Majesty," she said to the Emperor, "knows what are my convictions respecting the mission of woman in this world. The favour, coveted by all, that Your Majesty has the goodness to offer me, would become a misfortune if I were obliged to renounce the care of my husband when he has the gout, and the nursing of my children when Providence grants them to me. Therefore, I will respectfully ask, knowing that Your Majesty desires only my welfare, whether my waiting on the Empress can be made compatible with duties which it would be impossible for me to renounce? If this were so, Your Majesty would have a twofold right to my gratitude." The Emperor listened to her at first with a frown, but presently he bowed low to the speaker with a gracious air, and said: "Ah! You make conditions with me, Madame de Montalivet; I am not accustomed to that. No matter! I submit to them. Be then a Lady of the Palace. Everything shall be arranged so that you may remain wife and mother according to your wish." And so it was. Madame de Montalivet was in waiting at her own discretion only, and the Emperor, far from resenting this, took every opportunity to mark his esteem for her.

The Marescots were old acquaintances of Napoleon. One Marescot had been his fellow student at Brienne; at the École Militaire he met another who, like himself, served in the Artillery. Quite naturally, when he met a third Marescot before Toulon, a brother of his former comrade and a distinguished officer of Engineers, he became friendly with him. Marescot went from Toulon to the Army in the North, then had the command in the Pyrenees, and afterwards was entrusted with the defence of Landau and Kehl, and with the high command of Mayence. After this he no longer had opportunities of meeting Napoleon, but so far was the latter from having forgotten him that, immediately after the 18th Brumaire, he

made him inspector-general of Engineers, as Marshal Vauban and Asfeld had been. Afterwards he was made a great officer of the Empire and grand-cross of the Legion. M. de Marescot, who belonged to a good Orleans family claiming the same origin as the Marescotti of Bologna, but who were in fact descended from Jean Marescot, a citizen of Orléans, ennobled in May 1436, had married Mademoiselle de Thiésac, of a family formerly allied to the Taschers. She was a good woman "even essentially so," much esteemed in general and by her friends, but she led a retired life, limited to a very small circle. Moreover, she appeared for two years only at the Tuileries. In 1808, Marescot, being sent on a mission of inspection in Spain, happened to be with the Dupont corps when the Baylen affair took place : through some incredible mental aberration he, a great officer of the Empire, having no active command, consented to assist the negotiator who was sent to General Castaños, and to sign, as a witness, he said, the capitulation of Andujar. So soon as the Emperor was apprized of this, he wrote to Madame de La Rochefoucauld : "General Marescot has disgraced himself by attaching his name to an infamous capitulation; this has obliged me to deprive him of all his posts and employments; in such a state of things it is impossible that Madame Marescot can continue to be a Lady of the Palace, however innocent she may be and whatever may be her merit otherwise. I desire you then to cause her to send in her resignation, but to do so with all possible consideration." This letter bears date the 6th of September. Ten days afterwards Madame Marescot — who had retired to her château at Challay (Loir-et-Cher)—sent in her resignation ; it was transmittted to the Emperor at Erfurt, and sent back with the simple annotation : *Accepted. Erfurt 1st October, 1808. N.*

The two other ladies nominated with Madame de Marescot were recommended by their names and quality only, and were not personally known to Napoleon. One of these, Madame de Turenne, *née* de Brignac, was related by her marriage to one of the oldest and most highly connected families in France, that of Turenne, Marquises of Aynac and Montmurat, Barons of Felzins, Counts of Gramat, of proven descent from Hector,

bastard of Turenne (who was living in 1399), son of Raymond, Comte de Beaufort and Vicomte de Turenne, and thence from the Vicomtes du Bas-Limousin, Vicomtes de Turenne by the grace of God. Mademoiselle de Brignac de Montarnaud, last of her name, belonged to a well known noble family which was already ancient in the 13th century, and moreover she was very rich. In 1799, she married M. de Turenne who, having enlisted during the Revolution in the free company of Toulouse dragoons, had taken part in the campaigns of the Eastern Pyrenees and now aspired only to re-enter the army. In fact he made one of the Guard of Honour that the Emperor had formed at the beginning of Year XIV., and he was more lucky than most of the volunteers, for he was permitted to rejoin the Grande Armée on the 15th of October, 1805. In 1806, he was made 'captain orderly officer to the Emperor,' whom he never again quitted until Waterloo, having given proofs on every occasion, of rare devotion and exemplary courage. Madame de Turenne was well-looking, but her figure was bad, the upper part was so long that ill-natured persons used to declare she had no legs. This was an exaggeration.

A person still less to be looked for at the imperial Court was Madame de Bouillé, *née* Walsh de Serrant, daughter-in-law of the General de Bouillé who was concerned in the flight of the royal family of France to Varennes, and was impeached on account of it, and wife of Louis de Bouillé, one of the most militant of the émigrés, who was aide de camp of the King of Sweden in 1791, and afterwards proprietary colonel of the regiment of Hulans-Britanniques. M. de Bouillé having returned to France in 1802, soon became weary, like many others, of being nothing and having no share in anything. His wife's uncle, M. de Serrant, being desirous that the example he had set should be imitated, pressed him strongly to re-enter the service and apply for a place at Court for his wife. M. de Bouillé was all the more tempted because his chances of success were considerable : in addition to the old nobility of his family—their proofs dated from 1155—his father, a Chevalier des Ordres du Roi and the only general officer who, in 1791, would have been capable of commanding an



LA COMTESSE DE CHAMBRUN

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army, had it in his power to invoke the name of his mother, Mademoiselle Begue, the daughter of a major in the Martinique troops, whose family had been settled in the colony from 1716, and was connected by various marriages with Joséphine's family on the mother's side. On the 18th Brumaire, Year XIII. (9th November, 1804) he came to Paris and immediately had audience of Joséphine, who added to her customary kindness "something more personal by reminding M. de Bouillé of his relationship to her mother." Four months afterwards, Madame de Bouillé was appointed Lady of the Palace, and M. de Bouillé, who had joined the Guard of Honour formed after the Austrian campaign, received the second command in that corps. The Guard, as we know, did not take part in the war, but, on the 13th of February, 1806, M. de Bouillé was employed as brigadier on the staff of the Army of Naples. Almost immediately afterwards he was proposed by Joseph for the Legion of Honour, and, in 1810, he became general of brigade. He retired on account of his health in 1812, and for this reason the Bourbons made him lieutenant-general.

The story went that Madame de Bouillé was quite astonished at her nomination, and that a few moments before she received it, she defended herself vehemently from the charge of having asked for anything. In fact it was her husband who had undertaken to do that. After a while she relented and very readily accepted a pension of 2,000 francs which was paid to her until the peace with England.

At the end of Year XIII. (September, 1805)—the dated appointment ran from the 1st Vendémiaire, Year XIV. (23rd September),—Madame de Canisy was nominated Lady of the Palace. She was scarcely twenty, although she had been married six years. She was the daughter (born on the 1st of February, 1775), of that Marquise de Canisy, *née* Loménie, whom Napoleon when a child had seen passing in all her state before the windows of the school at Brienne. She had been left an orphan after the extermination of the Briennes; the strange part which was played in her story by Père Patrault is well known, and how, it is said, Napoleon was forced to

interfere to procure the restoration of Mademoiselle de Canisy to her family. She was no better off when this had been effected, for when she was only fourteen years old, she was wedded to her uncle, who was of very mature years, and, after the birth of two children, treated her with neglect. Since the 1st of February, 1805 (12th Pluviôse, Year XIII.) he had been one of the Emperor's equerries-in-ordinary, and it was quite natural that his wife should accompany him to the Court. "Tall, well made, with very dark eyes and hair, fine teeth, a well-shaped aquiline nose, a brilliant, slightly brunette complexion, her beauty was of a commanding, even haughty kind." A woman who knew her says "She was a Muse." She was the object of some 'grandes passions' at Court and became so much attached to M. de Caulaincourt, the Grand Equerry, that at the fall of the Empire, the love affair ended in their marriage.

The last appointments made under Joséphine's reign, on the 10th of February, 1806, were four in number. These comprised four names : Chevreuse, Maret, Mortemart and Montmorency.

Madame Maret, Mademoiselle Lejéas, was then twenty-five years old. Like her husband she belonged to the bourgeoisie of Dijon, but to a wealthy, lettered and excellently-educated class. She was extremely handsome, her beauty was of a rare and charming order, her figure was remarkably good, but not too tall, her features were exquisitely fine. "Her manners were perfectly agreeable;" she knew how to make the very best and most of her beauty, and, as her husband was one of those most richly endowed by the Empire, she took advantage of that fact to attire herself to perfection. It was said that she expended 50,000 francs a year on her dress ; it is certain that her annual bill at Leroy's never was below ten thousand francs. At the same time she was an excellent mother, perfectly devoted to her husband, and an 'honest' woman to the point of having resisted the declarations of the Emperor to his face and very plainly. Her numerous and devoted friends loudly and justly praised her for all that merited praise; her beauty, grace, elegance, sweet

temper, fidelity in every relation of life, her simplicity and her well-bred composure when she was unexpectedly found occupied with homely matters in bourgeois fashion. They praised her talents, her sound judgment, her proud and sensitive feelings. And all this was true; too much could not be said on the subject; but it is equally true that the discordant note makes the harmony most perceptible.

It is known that Maret, an honest upright man, faithful to his master, a well-tried patriot, incapable of lending himself to any intrigues and even of concealing them, was the butt of Talleyrand, especially after he had received the portfolio of Foreign Affairs. On every occasion, à propos of everything and nothing, Talleyrand pelted him with epigrams which were sometimes witty, but more frequently spiteful under a thin disguise, and occasionally simply abusive. Naturally, this enmity to the husband extended to the wife, and the little circle of Talleyrand's feminine adorers took it up and re-echoed it. As they could not accuse Madame Maret of being ugly or stupid, as they could neither defame her character nor dispute her elegance, they accused her of ambition and especially of haughtiness, asserting that she had borne the precedence of the 'accompanying ladies' of the Consulate period with impatience, and added: "when the Emperor gave the title of countess to all the Ladies of the Palace, Madame Maret seemed to be humiliated by that equality of rank; she persisted in ignoring the title and remained simply Madame Maret until the title of Duc de Bassano was conferred upon her husband." In this statement there is a manifest and voluntary error: all the Ladies of the Palace did not receive the title of countess simultaneously: in the Almanach for 1809 nine only of the twenty-seven Ladies of the Palace have titles, three are duchesses, five are countesses, one is a baroness, and the greater part, indeed it may be said the whole, are titled only in right of their husbands. It was not until the 3rd of May, 1809, that Maret received the title of count, which he exchanged for that of duke on the 15th of August of the same year. It was not therefore the fault of Madame Maret if, as Madame de Rémusat makes out, she did not use a title from the

27th of November, 1808, which she had not any right to bear at that date.

It has also been said that Madame Maret was appointed at the request of the Princess Caroline only, as though her own husband had not rendered sufficient service and was not in a position of sufficient dignity to secure such a post for her, if she desired it. It has also been added that she was very glad to be promoted to such good company; but, in truth, she was not so foolish as to believe that nobility is to be acquired by contact with folk who possess it. It is true, the companions whom the Emperor gave to Madame Maret possessed nobility in a higher degree than any other persons soever at the new Court, and it must be acknowledged that it was surprising to see them there—like a trophy of conquest bearing the mark of Napoleon; but when we look a little closer, this becomes quite easy of explanation.

Madame de Montmorency, wife of Anne-Charles-François, Duc de Montmorency, premier Christian baron, premier baron of France, chief of the name and arms of his house, twenty-sixth descendant of Bouchard I.—was a Goyon-Matignon, of the Gacé branch. On her return after the emigration she found that the larger part of the great estates she had inherited from her father, which brought a revenue of 200,000 livres, had been sold. Being eliminated from the list of émigrés, she obtained the withdrawal of the sequestration in Year IX. and Year X., but she recovered only two thousand livres of income; in Year XII., the Emperor restored to her four hundred acres of timber in the department of La Manche, but her creditors seized upon this and had it sold. By a decree of the 9th of April, 1806, six months later than her nomination, she became re-possessed of nearly sixteen hundred acres of forest in the departments of the Orne and La Manche; this did not go far in paying her debts to the amount of two millions and a half; but, owing to her clever management, she got off for six hundred thousand livres, not, however, without a terrible lawsuit which she sustained against one of her creditors, M. de Girac, formerly Bishop of Rennes. M. de Montmorency on his side had been reinstated in the possession of forests which enabled him to declare a majorat of eighty thousand livres

de rente' on the Grand-Livre. By a fresh favour from the Emperor, Madame de Montmorency's mother, Madame de Goyon-Matignon, *née* Breteuil, recovered almost the whole of her mother's fortune. Her mother was Mademoiselle Parat de Montgeron. Lastly, Baron de Breteuil, her grandfather had received, since Year XIII., when he returned from emigration, first, a gift of 6,000 francs, and, afterwards, a patent pension of 15,000 francs. The Emperor had re-purchased for him the very debateable reversionary interest of the Hôtel Breteuil in Paris; he had also re-purchased for him the freehold of the Breteuil pavilion at Saint-Cloud, and given it back to him together with a considerable amount of goods and land. Some return was due for this; and in addition to it all the Emperor permitted Madame de Montmorency to assume the office of an advocate—almost always successful—on behalf of her emigrant and more or less proscribed relations. He listened to her: he made her speak; he obtained information from her which prevented him from doing injustice and making mistakes, and it was good for both of them.

Madame de Montmorency—who was just thirty-two, and, although she was not handsome, had so charming a figure that it was said of her: "seeing her walk, dance, run, no one would have wished her otherwise, not either handsomer or less handsome"—delighted in society and dress. In former days the luxury of her life was the talk of all Paris: she had been brought up in this way, and there were many who held her wedding in remembrance as the finest sight that ever was seen; the men wore violet coats embroidered in silver, the ladies wore dresses of the same colour with similar embroidery; but, even after all her splendour had passed away, she still loved the world no less. Under the Consulate, she had to wash and iron her only muslin gown when she went into society, and when she stayed out after midnight and the cabriolet which she shared with her brother-in-law, Thibault de Montmorency, ceased to belong to her, she would bravely don a hood and galoshes and go home on foot. Being of such a disposition, was she to be out of everything, was she to have no share in the splendour and diversions of the Court! It was admitted by all that "she demeaned herself there very well,

she was neither haughty nor subservient, seemed happy and at her ease and did not pretend that she had come there under compulsion. She amused herself at the Court very much, and was perhaps sorry when it ceased to be. For there also her name gave her the advantages that it must have ensured everywhere. The Emperor often said that "he held none but historic nobility in esteem, but then he distinguished that highly."

Like Madame de Montmorency, her sister-in-law, Éléonore de Mortemart, whose own name was Montmorency, was also regarded as an ornament to the Court. Her husband indeed was only a cadet of his house, marquis, not duke, but enough of a grandee to be prized. The same advantages were given to him, the restitution of all unsold property, a dotation of 91,400 francs of revenue, the post of Governor of Rambouillet at 15,000 francs. On every occasion when Madame Mortemart asked for favours, such as permission for émigrés to return, the restitution of property, or the recall of exiles, they were almost eagerly granted, and it was the Emperor himself who informed her. "Do not doubt," he wrote to her, "the interest I take in you and my intention to give you proofs of it under all circumstances."

Madame de Chevreuse behaved very differently, and it is necessary to speak at length of her, for a legend has been made out of her adventures : there are people who will have it that she was one of the most pathetic victims of the Napoleonic tyranny, and in certain salons her name is invoked when it is desirable to be sentimental. Of course it is not obligatory on anybody to have learned the facts; for did not M. de La Rochefoucauld write : "Napoleon had forced her to accept the post of Lady of the Palace to the Empress *Marie-Louise*. Her resistance was a model of spirit and firmness, but she was obliged to yield !"

Madame de Chevreuse, who liked Hermessinde best of all her baptismal names, was a Narbonne-Pelet, daughter of that Narbonne who was called Fritzlar, not on account of his exploit of having held that little post for three days, but because one evening, at the 'coucher,' it had pleased the late King Louis XV. to single him out by that appellation from

the other Narbonnes for the honour of holding the candlestick! She was twenty-one years of age in 1806, and had been married for four years to d'Albert de Luynes who was only two years older, and so insignificant a personage that the sole trace of him is to be found in his genealogy. He was called M. de Chevreuse, for, in spite of the Revolution, the d'Alberts had maintained the custom of giving the alternate name to the eldest son in default of a title. His father, the Duc de Luynes, deputy for the nobility of Touraine to the States General, had however been in the minority of his order; he had gone over on the first day to the Tiers, and voted all the constitutional laws, the abolition of nobility included. So conspicuously had he distinguished himself, such strong proof had he given of his 'civisme', that he had passed through the whole of the Revolution without ever being disturbed. After the 19th Ventôse, Year VIII. (10th of March, 1800). De Luynes, 'ex-constituant,' was made a member of the Council General of the Seine, the following year, mayor of the ninth 'arrondissement,' in Year XI. senator, and, at the beginning of the Empire, Commandant of the Legion. Indeed, although he had paid high for the reputation of a good patriot, the Revolution had not injured his fortune, for he had availed himself of a revolutionary law to pay off his debts in assignats and to repurchase some valuable claims in the same. In affairs he was considered very knowing, but in everything else he was extraordinarily dull : he counted for nothing in his household ; there his wife was all. Madame de Luynes was, besides, an odd person whose like would not be met with in a hundred years. If M. de Luynes was a 'constituant,' it was his wife who knew the reason why, for she, though she was born a Montmorency-Laval, had always been the friend of Talleyrand, and had helped to prepare the altar at which the ci-devant Bishop of Autun was to officiate, by joining the gang of women who wheeled the barrowful of clay on the Champ de Mars. No scandal is implied; she was far too fully occupied with play, hunting, and printing, her three passions. In order not to lose time, and to have only her skirt to take off, she would sit down to play in her leather breeches and boots. She had her

printing-press at Dampierre, and was so familiar with the craft that when handling the composing stick she affected the peculiar swing that was then 'the thing' in the business. Thus she composed big books : printed by *G. E. J. Montmorency Albert-Luynes ;* these were *Les Aventures de Robinson* and *Recueils de poésies détachées à l'usage de quelques amis habitant la campagne ;* nothing of her own, and very little that is of interest, or that even 'dates' or gives us a whiff of the time. It was just playing a new sort of game, the game of 'labour.' But she tired quickly of this sport, and, when the Revolution had quieted down somewhat and foreigners began to come back, she re-opened the salons of the hôtel de Luynes in the Rue Saint-Dominique and re-commenced her game : her game of what ?—of everything. She was not *a* gambler, she was *the* gambler, and at every sort of game. Her salons, "a big café to which everybody flocks and where all enjoy themselves," formed a fashionable 'succursale' to the Cercle des Étrangers and Frascati ; creps and biribi tables were permanently established there, and the company was less fastidious than it would have been in an open gambling-house. The police tolerated this, because it had alert eyes and ears in its service there, and as all Paris, indeed all Europe, passed through those salons, the hôtel was a most convenient whispering gallery.

Amidst all this, Madame de Chevreuse ! She was red-haired, thin, had irregular features, and the audacity of those ugly women, worse than the pretty ones, who burn with a consuming passion of restlessness, and a craving for what they take for pleasure, as though they really believe they can put death off the scent of them by dint of perpetual movement. She was full of freaks and fancies, and her tall, supple figure and funny little face were amusing to behold. She did precisely as she pleased, and the gallery to which she played put up with anything from her. Her costume, entirely of her own design, was a curiosity ; she desired, beyond all things, a second child, and so she was 'vouée au blanc,' a peculiar and uncompromising white, prettily suited to her vow, and especially to her appearance. A volume might be made out of her eccentric

performances: we find her arriving in peasant costume at the house of an old bourgeois in the Marais, a retired shopkeeper, announcing herself as a kinswoman from the country seeking employment, cajoling the honest fellow, and bewildering him by her sudden departure; and anon playing the same part at the Arsenal for the mystification of Madame de Genlis, with all the *Jarni*, the *J'allions* and the *Parguienne* of the repertory. Again we find her dressing up a beggar from Saint-Roch and presenting him at a great evening reception as an illustrious Dane, and, for a bet, going alone, at eleven o'clock at night, in a daringly low-cut gown, to stroll through the galleries of the Palace; but there she met her brother, who reprimanded her so severely that she burst into tears on the spot. She was one of those women to be found at every period, who, if they be critically examined, have no beauty; who, if they be critically listened to, have no voice; who, if in later life they take to writing, do not exhibit even freshness of memory; but who set the fashion, nevertheless. Why? That is too much to ask; they wield the sceptre just because they have laid hands on it. She was red-haired, and had all the attributes of a red-haired woman, at a period when that colour was regarded as a stigma inflicted by nature, and therefore to dye red or wear a red wig had gone out of fashion; she had tried every hair-dresser in Paris before the famous Duplan succeeded in making false hair to her liking; but then came the question how she was to wear the wig without letting the parting that revealed the secret be visible, for her head was shaved daily. Thereupon she 'composed' a mode of hair-dressing which massed the hair upon the forehead, and immediately all the young heads whose 'metropolis' was the Hôtel de Luynes, were dressed after the fashion of hers. At the Château a short waist and tight sleeves were worn; Madame de Chevreuse appeared with a long waist and full sleeves, and the whole Faubourg followed suit. This was only a small matter, and if she had contented herself with laying down the law to the dressmakers, the Emperor and King would not have taken any notice; but her passion for notoriety and the enmity that she professed towards everything

belonging to the new régime, led Madame de Chevreuse, surrounded by her courtiers and adorers, "some of whom were but little worthy of her," to amuse herself, not only by turning every occurrence at the Tuileries into ridicule, but by spreading every bit of bad news, casting doubt on the Emperor's victories, inventing stories of disaster, and depreciating the honour of the army with the perfidious spite of an hysterical woman. Now this was not an unimportant matter. Alongside of the gambling-rooms in the hôtel de Luynes there were the flirting-rooms; those who did not come to gamble came to flirt, and among these were not only adherents of the Faubourg or aspirants to being so reckoned, but great officers of the Empire themselves and generals of the highest rank. The noise made by Madame de Chevreuse resounded so loudly in the world outside the Court that Hortense, who was little in the habit of making such enquiries, wrote to Madame Campan for information respecting the Luynes and whence they came. The Emperor did not stop there. From Vienna, where he was, he enquired into this war of words which was being waged in Paris under English direction, with the complicity of financiers and nobles, in order to injure public credit, and, if it could be done, to break the Bank. All the letters indicated Madame de Chevreuse as the most ardent leader of the campaign, then Mesdames d'Avaux and Récamier, MM. de Duras, de Lasalle and de Montrond. Napoleon was not the man to tolerate this syndicate of treason, and at first he thought of making a serious example of the de Luynes family. "Let them beware," he said, "I will show them the difference I make between a genealogy of the sword and a genealogy of flunkeys. If they rouse me I will have a revision of the confiscation of the estates of the Maréchal d'Ancre, who was basely assassinated, and, if he be rehabilitated, there will be no lack of heirs to come forward and claim the spoils from the Luynes family, which was enriched solely through that odious crime." This would have been a very strong measure, and it might have seemed revolutionary—although M. de Luynes was desperately afraid of it—but there was nothing savouring of despotism in an order of exile to forty leagues from Paris, seeing that it



LA COMTESSE DE BRIGNOLE

Italian School.

(The Red Palace at Genoa)



was war time, and considering the necessities of national defence. Such an order was just about to be despatched from Schoenbrunn, when Talleyrand, being warned of it, interposed. He talked of imprudence, of unimportant levities, obtained a revocation of the order and the appointment of Madame de Chevreuse as a Lady of the Palace, and thus gave a pledge of her good conduct for the future. To induce her to comply was the next thing, but no doubt it was agreed to frighten her by a representation of the consequences of a refusal. This point must be put very clearly; the post was solicited by the Luynes, not imposed by the Emperor. "It was not I," said Napoleon, "who went in search of this lady to make her a Lady of the Palace; it was Talleyrand who made the request of me on behalf of the Duchesse de Luynes."

Madame de Chevreuse, being appointed, resigned herself to appearing in her place, but she did so with an ill grace always. "Nothing but politeness was shown to her; she met it with a sort of haughty coldness, as though to assert that she was there under constraint." "I saw her," said an eye-witness, "in waiting on the Empress; she was not exactly rude, but, if I had been the Empress, I would never have exposed myself to such conduct on the part of Madame de Chevreuse."

And this was not because Joséphine withheld the most enviable and coveted marks of favour from her. Indeed she went so far in the opposite direction that the wives of the great officers were reasonably jealous, for Madame de Chevreuse was placed almost on an equality with the Princesses. At the fête given by Bessières in the name of the Guard, to the City of Paris and to the Empress, on the 19th of December, 1807, whom did Joséphine choose to be vis-à-vis in the quadrille d'honneur to her Imperial Highness the Grande Duchesse of Berg, and her partner, Prince Borghese? It was Madame de Chevreuse, and the Duke of Arenberg was assigned to her. This is enough to show what favour she enjoyed.

The Emperor made much of her to a greater extent still, but sometimes in a jesting way, in that sub-lieutenant fashion which he took for gallantry. In reality her opposition interested him; he would have liked

to vanquish it, to make one more conquest, and when Madame de Chevreuse did unbend, when she condescended to be amused by the fêtes, to take pleasure in the Court spectacles, appearing in brave attire and good spirits, he would say, with a laugh: "Come now, I have got the better of her aversion." But, the next day, there would be some new freak; she would refuse to accompany the Empress to the Opera because she had made a vow not to go there so long as she had not another child; and once, at the hunt in the Bois de Boulogne, where the Emperor sent her the 'Honours,' she refused to take the deer's foot to the Empress. Every day there was some fresh insolence, carefully reported by herself to her own court at the hôtel de Luynes, carried thence to the Emperor's ears, trimmed up and exaggerated. At length and at last the Emperor said to her: "Madame, in your maxims and your feudal doctrines you claim to be the lords of your lands; well then, I, according to your principles call myself the seigneur of France, and Paris is my village. Now, I will have no person therein who is displeasing to me. I judge you in accordance with your own laws; go out of Paris, and never enter it again." Nevertheless, he once more forgave; he did not understand her strange hostility, but persisted in ascribing a distant and far-fetched origin to it: he imagined that it arose from a family grievance—the father of Madame de Chevreuse, successor to M. de Marbeuf, having been recalled to Corsica on the demand of the States, Charles Bonaparte being deputy at Versailles—"I had always thought," he said, "that the dislike with which Madame de Chevreuse regarded me related to that old enmity." In reality, it went neither so far nor so high. Madame de Chevreuse, being accustomed to see her family and all her circle at her feet, being convinced that she was intangible, having assumed the posture of a woman 'in opposition' whose epigrams are quoted, and being encouraged by her prolonged impunity, amused herself, after a fashion possible only to such audacity as hers, by playing the part of tamer, going into the wild beast's cage to twist his tail or pull his ears. This sort of thing might have still gone on for a long time but for Madame de La Rochefoucauld; but

the latter eagerly seized an opportunity to take her revenge for the continuous offences of Madame de Chevreuse, "against whom she cherished jealousy of old date and long restrained."

When the King and Queen of Spain came to Fontainebleau from Bayonne, the Emperor detailed a portion of the Household to receive them: four Ladies, four Chamberlains, a Prefect of the Palace and a Lieutenant of the Imperial Hunt. Madame de Chevreuse, whose turn it was, was nominated at the same time as Mesdames de La Rochefoucauld, de Luçay and Duchatel. The Lady-in-waiting gave her notice, as it was her duty to do, informing her of the day fixed for the arrival of Their Spanish Majesties. Madame de Chevreuse, who was at Dampierre, and did not care to be disturbed, replied succinctly that she was ill, and Madame de La Rochefoucauld reported her answer to the Emperor. Even so the matter might have been passed over, if Madame de Chevreuse, in her pride at her exploit, had not boasted of it in her circle, adding that "she was not made to be a gaoler." Madame de La Rochefoucauld did not let the speech drop, but repeated it to the Emperor. Talleyrand was absent and could not ward off the blow; Luynes, who would have been spared, was dead and had been buried in the Panthéon as a senator; Madame de Chevreuse was informed that her appointment was annulled, and that she would have to reside on her estate at Luynes, near Tours; but, as Luynes seemed hardly habitable, this was changed to anywhere she pleased at a distance of forty leagues from Paris. Then arose a cry of anguish re-echoed by the whole 'left bank;' to leave Paris, to leave Dampierre, no longer to be able to astonish the Court by her insolence and the town by her eccentricity! Was this to be endured? Was it not an act of unexampled tyranny such as only a Corsican could invent? Twelve years before, the women who were sent to the scaffold shed fewer tears, uttered fewer shrieks, and were less pitied. She had to make up her mind, however, and Madame de Luynes accompanied her daughter-in-law. They went to Caen, then to Montpellier, afterwards into Touraine, and then to Grenoble; from every staying-point solicitations for permission to

return were sent, but the Emperor's former patience now gave him a right to be inflexible. "A severe example was required," he said, "to save the necessity of repeating it in other cases." After all, the punishment was not so cruel; was it not possible for her to find an agreeable abode outside the ten or twelve departments which formed the outskirts of Paris? Madame de Chevreuse might choose among one hundred and twenty 'chief-places,' but she must have Paris, and in the hope of gaining something, no day was allowed to pass without her lamentations. "For three years," said Savary, "I was solicited to ask for her recall, and, I confess, I had not conceived it possible that she could have shown such abjectness in her entreaties, after having behaved with such insolence." The excuse for her conduct, and its explanation, which inspires some measure of pity for this young woman, is that she was consumptive. She died of her disease at Lyons on the 6th of July, 1813; but has she any real claim to be excused, and does Napoleon deserve to be described as her "executioner?" So it is, however, and Madame de Chevreuse will continue to be regarded by minds of a certain cast as the type of the Faubourg victims, compelled by the tyrant to appear at his Court, there to pocket a thousand francs monthly, and to exemplify the virtues of the aristocracy.

As a matter of fact, we have seen that not one of the Ladies of the Palace had been constrained by the Emperor or by Joséphine to accept her post; every one of them had either solicited it in person, or her family or husband had done so for her. Even if it be true that three of them were not consulted by those who had authority over them, after that violence had been done, admitting that violence it was, they found their functions pleasant enough to get used to them, and to make friends and to form attachments while exercising them. Not one of these ladies neglected the pay, or failed to present herself before the Treasurer of the Crown; not one scorned the frequent gratuities which State solemnities and anniversaries ensured to persons belonging to the Court; not one of

them ever voluntarily sent in her resignation, and if there were women whose presence was desired there but who refused to come, not one among the number was ever molested or persecuted on that account.

* * *

Such was this Court; the general tone was excellent, politeness and suavity prevailed; there was no boisterous conversation, no loud voices were heard, the bearing of everybody was scrupulously correct. The ladies of the Faubourg had some trouble in getting used to this tone, but as they were 'no fools,' they all adapted themselves to the diapason, with the exception of Madame de Chevreuse. At Versailles the fashion was a careless air, a head voice, the 'easy' style. The mode for men was to be renowned as 'mauvais sujets'—we need merely name the favourites, Coigny, Vaudreuil, Lauzun, Tilly—the mode for women was to take pleasure in such society. Voices were shrill, speech was broad, adventures were many, and certain of the greatest ladies seemed to delight in compromising themselves. But no sooner had these ladies, who had been 'of Versailles,' entered the Tuileries than, hearing only their own noise in the common silence, they lost their self-confidence, lowered their tones, without its being necessary, as Tracy said to Cabanis, "to hit them on the nose," and placed themselves on the level of their more 'bourgeoises' and less free and easy companions, who were modest in their talk and reserved in their manners. The result was a rather grave general aspect and a profound ennui, but these have to be encountered at all Courts where the dignity of sovereigns is respected and the good behaviour of courtiers is exacted.

The Ladies of the Palace were not expected to possess wit, learning, or brilliant conversational powers; these would have been out of place. Bits of gossip, society stories, scandals, adventures, were the things that pleased Joséphine; she liked to be plied with them, and they amused Napoleon at second hand. As for him, he never had, so to speak, a long conversation with a woman; he reproached himself for this after-

wards, saying that he had missed learning a great deal. When by any chance he did find a woman to hold her own with him (Madame Maret and Madame Savary, for example) he was so much astonished that ten years afterwards he remembered and talked of it.

He would not suffer women to be mixed up in political intrigues or even affairs without his knowledge, and in this sense he said: "Women must be nothing at my Court." He entertained a very distinct idea of the condition, the functions, the destiny of woman, and hitherto nothing had led him to alter it. Luxury made part of her functions; he chose that all the women at his Court should be handsomely dressed—this idea was connected with his general system of promoting industry and furthering the interests of trade—and to tyranny of this kind the women submitted easily enough, all save Madame de Rémusat, according to her own account, though surely she was paid enough money to enable her to buy finery. Besides, she strangely exaggerates the expense. If we are to believe her, a Court dress cost at least fifty louis and was frequently changed; "most usually," she adds, "this dress was embroidered in gold or silver and trimmed with mother-o'-pearl." Now, the Ceremonial says: "All the ladies admitted to Court wear a dress the same as that of the Empress, without embroidery or fringe, or with an embroidery or fringe at the hem only. The design of the embroidery is at the choice of the wearer, but must not exceed a decimeter in breadth." This was a regulation, it is true, and it may have been disregarded; but let us take Leroy's books—the most expensive dressmaker in Paris—and look at the accounts of Madame de Rémusat's companions: where do we find 1,200 francs charged or paid for a Court dress? Madame de Brignole, who dressed most elegantly, never had one which cost more than 510 francs; Madame Duchatel, who was remarkable for the refinement of her attire, wore a Court dress of pink crêpe and pink satin which cost 297 francs; the most expensive of her costumes, in tulle and satin with under-dress of embroidered tulle, cost 521 francs. She generally provided the stuff, as all these great ladies did, and Leroy charged 18 francs for making a full Court dress. To be sure

there was in addition the chérusque, gold or silver lace, blonde or tulle; these came to two louis, 48 francs.

Madame de Lauriston? The most elegant of her Court dresses, in white gauze trimmed with ribbons and wreaths, with gown of the same, 576 francs. And Madame Maret, the very queen of elegance, the best dressed woman at Court, and the most lavish, wore a Court dress which cost 1,500 francs; it was pink satin striped with silver, with gown of the same, but it was the only one of its kind, and the most of those she usually wore cost 598 francs. The handsomest dress Madame de Montmorency had—it was white velvet trimmed with tulle and satin with blonde chérusque—what was the cost of it? 540 francs. And the dress of white net with chérusque in Alencon lace and tulle and satin under-dress, worn by the Duchesse de Rovigo? 600 francs. And Madame de Rémusat herself, when, on the 16th of April, 1814, she donned her finest apparel to go and offer her brand-new devotion to the King, what had her gown of white gros-de-Naples, trimmed with tulle and satin, with blonde on the bodice and long sleeves, cost her? 245 francs — the price of the whole costume, with the white satin toque and its five white feathers, and the quilled tulle chemisette blonde-ruched, came to 445 francs. Twenty louis to mark her enthusiasm for the Bourbons, fifty to testify to her hatred of the Emperor! Madame de Rémusat exaggerates: in all her life she had but one gown that cost two hundred louis, and it was the First Consul who made her a present of it.

Napoleon did not insist so much upon the costliness of the women's dress as upon its freshness—this necessitated frequent renewal—and that it should be of exclusively French manufacture. On that point he was inexorable, and was he far wrong? If it be the fashion at a Court to adopt foreign garments and forms, does not the contagion spread throughout the country, leading to the decay of industries, the closing of manufactories, and, still worse, does not the foreign spirit invade men's minds? Napoleon desired that the nation should be and should remain French: he desired that at Lyons, Cambrai, Elbeuf, Louviers, and Valenciennes prosperity should

reign; therefore he continually recurred to this point, and in all the Courts swarming over Europe, he commanded that no stuffs, trimmings, gloves, fashions or fancy articles should be used but those which were French.

The Court ladies were then very elegant, and their elegance was of a disclosing and clinging kind, requiring women's figures to be slender, well-proportioned and supple. The gowns were quite straight and flat, worn without petticoats, and often of the thinnest material, even the silks had but little to support them, and were hardly 'dressed' at all; they were soft to the touch and did not lend themselves to puffings. In front the gown was cut low, just showing the rise of the breast, and had hardly any back on account of the chérusque; the sleeves, if any, were tight and flat, in the full-dress a slight puffing just held the robe to the shoulder, but did not conceal one-half of the forearm. Shoes had no heels, corsets were mere straps; there was nothing to disguise defects of shape, to enhance the height of little women, or to palliate the fact of fatness. An ugly woman was more ugly, a pretty woman was prettier, a really beautiful woman had a triumph. That was the age of sincerity in the matter of the physique of women. If they adhered to this mode of dress, and if, despite its inconvenience in certain respects, they would not permit any change, it was because the women who led the fashion were, almost without exception, young and handsome; some of them were gifted with superior charms, rare and divine; privileged beings who possessed the imperishable beauty of form. The one feature common to the Court was, it may be said, this display of physical beauty, for if bodies were displayed, minds were hidden. Nothing on that side was revealed. When, at the Restoration, research was made for current anecdotes in order to soil the fair fame of some of the Empire ladies, nothing could be found, and the fabricators of scandal were reduced to altering the dates of old stories by Brantôme, Béroalde de Verville and Marguerite de Navarre, and turning the "Contes" of La Fontaine into prose; in short to drawing on the antique store of 'fabliaux,' that has offered inexhaustible resources to their like for centuries. Not indeed that there



LA COMTESSE DE MONTALIVET.

Miniature by Augustin

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were no slips in morals, but, in appearance, everybody was well behaved, and the proprieties were respected. It was well known that the Emperor had his own police, that if scandal were given he was not the man to recoil from administering a public rating, and that he was in the habit of administering lessons in morality at the masked balls; nor did he need domino and mask to find his opportunities. The cost of an escapade was clearly understood, and that an elopement, even with the intention of return, meant irrevocable disgrace. It was well known that the Emperor would not tolerate divorced women at his Court, and that divorce was, in his eyes, an indelible stain. He would not endure public rumour and report; he would not have the women who were about the Empress ill-spoken of. Rightly or wrongly, tongues were busy with the wives of certain of his great officers; a legend (which was undoubtedly true) was in circulation concerning Madame de Talleyrand; stories were told of Madame Regnault; and things were known respecting Madame Visconti. According to degree, this meant total expulsion, complete disgrace, or icy coldness. Let a woman have a lover, that did not matter, but let her not allow him to appear, let it not be spoken of, let the public know nothing about it!

Thus, there was no noise, no talking, if anything did happen; and even if the master himself were in question, the Court might suspect, guess, or come upon traces of facts, but nobody talked.

The Emperor was content if things went on thus, in silence and 'correctness,' according to order, and while he was present this was so; but in his absence the mice played. Joséphine's hand was not sufficiently firm to lead the flock composed of species so different and so newly brought together. Bands and factions were formed; Joséphine encouraged some, was opposed by the others, knew not how to get her commands executed, was scolded, and cried. She kept up her private friendship with some of her ladies of the Consulate who boasted of leading her, and no doubt succeeded in doing so; she assumed a maternal air towards the former companions of Hortense; she tolerated the pranks of her Lady-in-waiting, making a fetish of an imaginary cousinship; "she treated those who by

their great names added new lustre to her Court with polite deference;" it is even said that she "gave proof of infinite address in preserving the superiority of her rank." What need had she of 'address?' Was not the one inexcusable and irremediable fault on her part that, instead of assuming the command that was hers, she excused herself. Being diffident of herself, she made others doubtful of her. To some she said that it made her very unhappy to remain seated when women who had formerly been her equals, or even her superiors, came in; that she was required to conform to that etiquette, but it was impossible for her to do so; to others she expressed strange satisfaction, almost astonishment, at having 'obtained' them, and tried to make out distant relationships, which these ladies regarded as mis-alliances. Whence came the honour done, who had solicited it, who profited by it? She was the wife of the Emperor, did not this suffice to make her conscious that she was raised above all other women and that henceforth none could enter into comparison with her? But she did not feel that her birth dated from the Coronation Day as Napoleon felt himself born of the Eighteenth Brumaire; in her there was a survival of the Tascher, the Beauharnais, the Bonaparte, and she not only failed to command that it should be forgotten, but she liked to recall it. One day, at Saint-Cloud, she crossed two salons to give an order in person to a valet-de-chambre, and on the Gentleman-in-waiting hastening to represent the impropriety of the proceeding, she said: "Eh, Monsieur, such etiquette is all right for princesses born on the throne, and accustomed to the restraint it imposes, but I, who have had the happiness of living so many years as a mere private individual,—do sometimes allow me, if you please, to give orders without an interpreter." There is the explanation in a word of Joséphine's being regarded as so amiable, and of the reason why, although she might be loved, she never was respected. It explains how it could have happened that at Mayence, during the campaign of 1806, some of her ladies proceeded from petty annoyances to overt insolence, without her having sufficient authority to enforce their respect for herself, the Emperor and the Army.

Failing that personal prestige which she did not possess, only the maintenance of etiquette with military precision could have protected Joséphine against the familiarity of some and the contemptuous attitude of others. Instead of resolutely adhering to that etiquette and sheltering herself behind it, she desired rather to reign over ladies like the mistress of a house over the guests, in such fashion as a Madame de Montesson might have adopted in her salon. The example must have been present to her memory more than once, for that lady had been her model and her guide during the Consulate. And indeed it is a question whether she held what she had become, what Napoleon had made her, as anything superior to a morganatic marriage with a Duc d'Orléans.

Never did she attain to the notion of what he was, never did she participate in that pride which set his feet above each stair that he climbed. Never did she feel that an eagle had carried her through the spaces, even to the throne of a god.

* * *

Regarded from this point of view, the study of Joséphine's Household is not unimportant, since the whole of her character is reflected in it, and we can trace all the phases of her mind there. It will, however, be better to limit our attention to the Ladies of the Palace; for her action seems to have been much less direct and her taste to have been much less consulted in the selection of the Chamberlains and Equerries. Nevertheless, there are some points to be observed.

Looking at the names of the Chamberlains, it is hard to believe that refusals were encountered in the selection of them. "In 1804," says Philippe de Ségur, "with very few exceptions, which were found among the obscure, poor, and ruined nobles and others who were already involved in Bonaparte's fortune, it required at first a great deal of negotiation and temptations of various kinds to induce a few well-known persons to enter into the first composition of the Court." Whatever may have been the

means employed, the number of well-known names among those of the Empress's Chamberlains exceeded that of the Ladies of the Palace; the Beauharnais element had been excluded; no acquired positions had demanded consideration, and former recollections had been less consulted.

It was nevertheless, to private influence and doubtless to Joséphine's wish that M. Champion de Nansouty owed his appointment as First Chamberlain with a salary of 30,000 francs. His family was of little or no distinction; it came from Avallon, and emerged from the commonalty (roture) towards the end of the 17th century in virtue of a King's secretaryship; at that time their honours were limited to two mayors of Avallon, and would not have counted, if they had not been connected, as it appeared, with a family of the name of Minard to which the mother of Madame de Montesson belonged. This was a ready-made claim to Joséphine's favour. M. Champion, who owned a small estate at Nans-sous-Thil, and out of it had made a name with a sound of nobility, had been brought up at Brienne, received at the Military School, sent away, but nevertheless named sub-lieutenant in Bourgogne-Infanterie in 1785. Ten years later, he was a general of brigade, and, the Consulate supervening, in a fair way to considerable advancement through Madame de Montesson; but he procured more active patrons still by marrying Madame de Rémusat's sister and thus uniting his fortune to that lady's. He got the third star of the Legion by this transaction, at once; then the post of Chamberlain; but, from the very beginning of the ceremonies, he entered into a conflict for precedence with the First Equerry, and as the Household became enlarged, he fell into the third rank only. Was this to the borne? On the 1st of June, 1808, he was appointed First Equerry to the Emperor with the same emoluments and the exercise of the office of Grand Equerry, in the almost continual absence of Caulaincourt. And it was not enough that he had received numerous gratuities, that Napoleon had made him grand-cross of the Legion, colonel-general of dragoons, Count of the Empire with a dotation of 58,728 francs; what was all this for a man of his merit? In 1814, this Champion de Nansouty, was the first, with Dessole, of the general offi-

cers to proclaim his adhesion to the Provisional Government and to separate his fortune from Napoleon's. Madame de Rémusat had 'passé par là.'

MM. de Beaumont and d'Aubusson la Feuillade had been appointed simultaneously with this Champion. This was a visible elevation of the scale. Without being of illustrious origin, the family of Bonnin de la Bonninière de Beaumont came of an ancestry known to be noble from the 14th century; several King's pages had been numbered in it and it had been admitted to the honours of the Court. M. André de Beaumont, after having served as a King's page, had been major of the Anjou regiment and had married Mademoiselle de Miromesnil, niece of the Keeper of the Seals. He was an honest man, not very clever, but eager to please, and would have suited his post very well if he had not been too ready to amuse the 'Mistress,' and amenable to the point of making himself the laughing-stock of the Household. The Beaumonts had for the most part adhered to the Empire: André's brother had married Davout's sister, and several of the others were in the imperial service. Thus no persuasion was necessary to 'obtain' them.

It was said that Madame de La Rochefoucauld had led M. d'Aubusson to accept the office of chamberlain; he was highly esteemed, and indeed he was the best who was to be had. Pierre-Raymond-Hector d'Aubusson, Marquis de Castelnovel, de Saint-Paul de Serre and de Melzéard, Comte de la Feuillade, Vicomte d'Aubusson, Baron de la Borne and de Pérusse, whose ancestral house (which had an authentic record going farther back than the year 800) boasted the Grand-Mastership of Saint John of Jerusalem, two Marshalates, and at least two collars of The Order, could not possibly be surpassed in nobility, but he had not made a fortune under the old régime. In 1719, he was a cadet at the Military School, and at the Revolution had only just become lieutenant-colonel, having gone through every branch of the service: he stated that he had been made colonel three days before the flight to Varennes, but had not received his patent. He then emigrated, but in an obscure way and without taking service, returned in the early days of the Consulate, and thenceforth associated with people who were on terms with the friends of the Château. He wanted to get back

his property and a place, and hastened to pass on by way of the Court to the Tuscan legation, thence to the Embassy at Naples; and while holding both posts he was one of the sturdiest beggars. Any sum came handy to him, and he even took so little as six thousand francs. But then he did not consider himself bound to be grateful. "You know my services under the last Government," he wrote to Talleyrand, on the 18th of August, 1814: "I have been very badly treated by it; for I have never had anything but the simple Cross of the Legion of Honour."

At the promotion of the 12th Pluviôse, Year XIII. (1st February, 1805) the applications were no doubt more numerous, the selections having been more extended, and M. d'Aubusson occupied himself in beating up recruits and serving as a decoy. It was he who delivered the letter by which that High and Puissant Lord, Messire Alexandre-Léon-Luce de Galard de Béarn, Marquis de Brassac, Comte de Béarn, Baron de la Rochebeaucourt, solicited the Chamberlain's key. Now, from the point of view of fusion, no one was so desirable as M. de Béarn. In his own person, the most distinguished family of Guyenne, of the purest and most indisputable nobility, issuing from the Counts of Lomagne and by them from the Dukes of Gascony; and in that of his wife, Mademoiselle Pauline de Tourzel, the most intractable nobility of the old Court, the most wedded to the Bourbons, the nearest to them in person, the most irreconcilable, the most hostile to the reconciled party, were brought to the Tuileries.

The Marquise de Tourzel, who was a Croÿ—her mother was a Luxembourg—had been Governess of the Children of France in the days of the extreme peril. She had brought up her daughter in the religion of the monarchy. Pauline had been the last playmate of Madame and the Dauphin; with her mother she had lived through the flight to Varennes, the twentieth of June, the tenth of August; she had seen and survived September and knew not why she had been spared. Both mother and daughter had wept with 'the Orphan of the Temple,' and it was they who had transmitted her father's last instructions to her. How could the breaking of such bonds be contemplated? Was it not a sacrilege? But M. de

Béarn was very much pressed for money, in consequence of lawsuits relating to his succession to his grandfather, and he calculated that by going over to the Empire he should secure the restoration of his property, and that of some of his relations; also that he might obtain lesser favours. So he took the step without having said a single word about it to his wife, who was in despair when she heard of it, declared it to be an act of unheard-of tyranny, and that M. de Galard must refuse! In reason, now, could he do so? And if he gained the Presidency of an electoral college, the star of the Legion, and the title of count, on the other hand his wife did not disdain to avail herself of her husband's key to open the door of the Emperor's cabinet. True, this was in order to solicit favours for various persons belonging to her family. The end justified the means.

M. de Galard-Béarn had done well to hasten: he was the last of the Chamberlains at 12,000 francs. Afterwards, they were paid only half, 6,000, and as many as were wanted could be had, of good blood too.

M. de Saint-Simon-Courtomer, whose family had no connection with that of Rouvroy de Saint-Simon, was not, however, to be placed on the same footing with M. de Galard. He was much older than his colleagues, for, when he joined the Court, he was over fifty, and he indulged at the Tuileries in something like the kind and turn of wit which had prevailed at Versailles in the last years of Louis the Well-beloved. This surprised everybody. Nevertheless he was made President of an electoral college, officer of the Legion, and Count of the Empire; so firm was the conviction that there could be only one Saint-Simon 'house', and that the personage in question really was the ducal representative, or at any rate that he looked the part.

The grandeur of M. de Gavre was more real, although it was not French. He was Prince de Gavre by an imperial diploma of 1736, Marquis d'Aiseau, a Count of the Holy Roman Empire, Comte de Peer, de Frezin, de Beaurieux and de Castelnuovo, Vicomte du Quesnoy, Baron de Monceau, Grand Hereditary Cupbearer of Flanders; all this was worth purchasing, and he sold it dear. Twelve days after his nomination, M. de Gavre obtained

the reversal of the decree by which the property of Général Major de Gavre, who had remained in the service of Austria, was sequestrated; in 1806, he made use and abuse of his title by going to Spain to push on a family lawsuit which had been in existence for a hundred and fifty years, and which he terminated to his own benefit; the same year, he obtained the star of the Legion; in 1808, he procured the title of count on promise of a majorat which he did not institute; in 1810, by some chance it pleased him to enter the Administration and he was made Prefect of Seine-et-Oise; he was a sorry prefect, yet he was kept in office for three years. The end had nearly come before it was discovered that M. de Gavre was a fool of a dangerous kind. He returned to the Low Countries, and there he was General Major and Grand Master of Ceremonies.

In 1807, only, the Emperor completed the Empress's Household in respect of Chamberlains, and it is difficult to tell why he added the last two names. There was nothing distinguished in one, Du Val; it was that of a Norman family divided into two branches, d'Epremesnil and du Manoir. Perhaps Joséphine, who had been very intimate with the d'Epremesnil who was Counsellor to the Parliament, was induced by that remembrance to take this cousin into her Household. As for the other name, there was none greater, for it was Montesquiou; but Rodrigue-Charles-Eugène de Montesquiou, appointed Chamberlain to the Empress in 1807, had been for a long time in the army and was a very ardent soldier. Although he had married Mademoiselle d'Harcourt, he did not reside in Paris. It was in battle that he gained the title of chevalier and then baron of the Empire, the gold eagle of the Legion, a dotation of 10,000 francs, and the aigrette of Colonel of the 13th Chasseurs,—and all this only to die of an illness at Ciudad-Rodrigo, towards the end of 1810. Montesquiou was grandson of the conqueror of Savoy, the eldest son of Elizabeth-Pierre, he who was Minister at Saxony from 1791 to 1792, then emigrated and was very ill received by the Princes, went over to the Empire by attending the Coronation as President of a Canton, and entered the Corps Législatif in 1805. In 1809, he replaced the Prince of Benevento as Grand Chamberlain, and



MADAME MARET DUCHESSE DE BASSANO

Picture by Gerard

Lith. d'après Mme la Duchesse de Bassano



in 1810, his wife was appointed to the great office of Governess of the Children of France.

With the exception of Montesquiou—who was constantly engaged in war, and does not appear ever to have been on duty at the Court of the Empress—and Nansouty, who went away very soon and, besides, did not perform his duties, Joséphine's chamberlains did not belong in any sense to the new régime; they were all men of the past, belonging to the class that would formerly have supplied chamberlains to the Queen of France, if the Queen had had any. That office, which was entirely a Court service, subordinated to the Lady-in-waiting, could not have been filled by men whose personal actions had imbued them with a just sense of their own dignity, with the consciousness of their independence, and the true conception of life such as soldiers had attained to in the wars of the Revolution.

* * *

The Officers of the Horse to the Empress, the Gentlemen-in-waiting, the First Equerry, and the equerries, were chosen exclusively from the military: thus the equerries make but little show, for, with the exception of the Gentlemen-in-waiting and the First Equerry, whose posts meant a sort of retirement with pension, these functionaries were all soldiers, war was continual, and as the Emperor said "the service of war went before everything."

At the outset, the First Equerry, who took precedence of the entire Household, discharged the functions of Gentleman-in-waiting. He accompanied the Empress in preference to every other, was present at the audiences given by Her Majesty and stood behind her chair; he had the administration and the direction of the Empress's Stables, appointed the paid officials, accompanied Her Majesty on journeys, directed and ordered everything, commanded the escorts, and fulfilled exactly the same duties with respect to her as those which devolved on the Colonel General of the Guard in his attendance upon the Emperor. He had rooms in all the imperial palaces, lived at the imperial charge, was served by the domestics and used

the carriages of the Empress; he received a salary of 30,000 francs as well.

It was evidently by the personal wish of Joséphine that M. d'Harville had been made First Equerry. He came of a great race, for the d'Harvilles, themselves of very ancient descent, having had a vice-admiral, chevalier of the Ordres du Roi among them, were substituted, at the end of the 17th century, for the Jouvenel des Ursins who had occupied the highest civil and ecclesiastical posts in the Kingdom from the 15th century. Louis Auguste Jouvenel de Harville des Ursins, Marquis de Traînel and Comte de Harville, was Colonel of the Orleans dragoons at the Revolution, and joined the popular party from the first. He had been among the intimate friends of Alexandre de Beauharnais, but, being either more lucky or more wise, had escaped proscription; he served with distinction in the Armies of the North, Sambre-et-Meuse, and the Rhine, and took the position of inspector-general of cavalry in 1798. In 1800, he was called to the command of the reserve troops at the camp of Dijon, and on the 12th of March, 1801, was made senator. His wife, *née* Dal Pozzo, who belonged to a branch of that illustrious Piedmontese family naturalized in France, was on sufficiently intimate terms with Joséphine to receive her at Lizy, in February, 1803, and M. d'Harville, whose hospitality the Chief Consul accepted, was on such a footing with him as to exchange horses *of his rank* i. e. horses that had been ridden by Napoleon. That was "a thing apart" and shows the degree of intimacy. But, at fifty-six, M. d'Harville was no longer equal to a Court function of an active kind, and he resigned after the 'voyage' of Year XIV. (1805-1806) in Germany. He was still paid the salary, it was increased indeed to 40,000 francs with the title of Gentleman-in-waiting; he still occasionally appeared, in Paris, at the ceremonies, but from the 12th of June, 1806, the post was filled and all its attendance was done by General Senator Ordener.

This appointment unmistakably indicated a pronounced reaction on the part of the Emperor against the selections that had been made by himself, and it was also a lesson administered to all the 'ci-devants.' The latter were taking quite too much upon themselves and showing openly their contempt for everything connected with the Revolution. One day when

several ladies of the Faubourg had been presented to the Empress, Madame de La Rochefoucauld took the liberty of saying : "To-day we have received good company." The Emperor was of opinion that the time had come for using the bit and bridle again; and so he appointed to be the real head and gendarme of the Empress's household and to be constantly with her, that former dragoon of Condé's Légion, that peasant from Lorraine who had won every step of his promotion at the point of the sword, and who, having lived in camps since 1773, was a noble incarnation of the democratic army and the Revolution itself,—the whole Revolution, we may say, for it was Ordener who carried off the Duc d'Enghien at Ettenheim in Year XII.

Was it for the happiness of the hero of the Mounted Grenadiers to be placed in such a position, and would not Ordener have preferred the 'waits' under cannon to those of the Salon de service? He knew nothing of courteous and elegant ways, he jabbered terribly, and the French he talked was disconcerting, but not more so than Luckner's had been or Kellermann's then was. He had learned war, but not the war of wit, and the more frank and resolute he was in the discharge of his duties with military precision, the more his weak points, and he had some, were scrutinized, especially when he tried to make himself captivating, perfumed himself with attar of rose, and strove to imitate the people about him. In the presence of the Emperor the First Equerry was not to be laughed at with impunity; did any rash jesters try to stick pins in the breastplate of Napoleon's grenadier, one knit of the brow, one look fixed upon the culprit, sufficed. Nevertheless Ordener suffered from this cause, and it had to be so; for although Josephine was all kindness to him, still she laughed. The equerries had been chosen with one exception from among men of good family who had entered the armies of the Republic, or, being in the military service at the epoch of the Revolution, had pursued their fortune in its ranks. The sole exception, and he remained only three months in the Household, was one Jacques Leroy who had been aide de camp to General de Harville at the Eighteenth Brumaire and whose appointment was due to that fact. After a stirring

career he retired with the position of a 'major de place' and distinguished himself in 1815 at the defence of Langres. With him was M. de Fouler, page of the private Stables in 1786, who remained, went through all the campaigns, had already gained the grade of General of Division, the title of count, and a dotation of 30,000 francs. M. de Bonardi de Saint-Sulpice, who replaced Leroy, was of old Provençal nobility, entered the service as officer in 1777, was Colonel at the Revolution and General of Brigade in 1803. He did not care for the place in the Household of the Empress, passed into a similar position in that of the Emperor seven months later (19th of June, 1805) and nine years afterwards, he was General of Division, Governor of Fontainebleau, Count of the Empire, with a dotation of 50,000 francs.

Even before the departure of M. de Saint-Sulpice, on the 5th of March, 1805, MM. de Corbineau and d'Audenarde had been appointed. Colonel de Corbineau, the son of an inspector-general of the Breeding Studs, had begun his career, in 1788, in the Queen's Gendarmes; having re-entered the service in 1791, as sub-lieutenant of dragoons, he had not missed a campaign, but seemed to be in every place all at once where fighting was going on, and to be multiplying himself 'for glory.' Three brothers named Corbineau were serving at the same time, who were his equals in valour and of like intrepidity: "three purple arms extended in the gesture of taking oath," as the armorial bearings of one of them set forth, and the several exploits of each, lending lustre to the other two, shed such a halo around their name as no one man alone could have earned for it. The second of the three was killed at Eylau, while carrying an order from the Emperor; his younger brother, a Major in the Chasseurs à cheval de la Garde, had a leg shot off at Wagram; his elder brother, who from being simply a legionary was made Commandant of the Legion of Honour after the battles of Ocaña and Alcala-la-Real, aide de camp to the Emperor, and General of Division, was one of the great cavaliers of the Empire.

M. d'Audenarde, "My handsome equerry," as the Empress said, came from Belgium. He was the son of M. de Lalaing, Vicomte d'Audenarde, Chamberlain to Marie-Thérèse, 'Grand Master of the Kitchens of the Court of

Brussels,' and grandson of M. de Lalaing, created Comte de Lalaing, in 1719, by the Emperor Charles VI. He had taken service at twenty in the Austrian army, and, having retired after the peace of Lunéville, he re-entered the French army as captain of infantry. Owing to his nomination to a post in the Household of the Empress, he was enabled to pass into the cavalry in 1804. In 1812, he was General of Brigade, and at the Restoration he was sub-lieutenant in the Gardes du Corps where he had some very sharp encounters. The Monarchy of July made him a Peer of France, and the Second Empire a Senator. He had married the daughter of one of Joséphine's friends, Mademoiselle Dupuy, of the Isle of France, whose father was a senator, and her mother Lady-in-waiting to the Princess Joseph. She was a very interesting person and had a story in her life when nearly forty.

Lastly, the place that had been occupied by Bonardi de Saint-Sulpice was filled, on the 20th of June, 1805, by Commandant de Berckheim, of a distinguished Alsatian family of the same origin and bearing the same name as the Andlaus, and holding, like them, the ranks of dynasts in Europe. M. de Berckheim, who entered the service in 1789, at fourteen years of age, as sub-lieutenant in the regiment of La Marck, was Colonel in 1807, General of Brigade in 1810, General of Division in 1813, and, in 1814, commanded the 'levée en masse' and the insurrection of the Lower Rhine. Such equerries as these, it may readily be believed, had but scant leisure for dangling in the Salon de service and trotting by the side of the Imperial carriage; it was in another uniform that they arrayed themselves, and it required a stern and reiterated order from the Emperor to prevent even the First Equerry himself from regarding a military mandate, were it from the dépôts of the Garde, as of greater urgency than his attendance upon his sovereign.

Hence, after the experience of a few years, arose the necessity for Napoleon's appointing equerries to the Empress who were not in active military employment, but civil officers charged with the superintendence of the staff of the Stables, in default of the First Equerry. By a decree given at Schœnbrünn on the 7th of June, 1809, "the sieur Honoré Monaco"

was appointed equerry to the Empress. Monaco was the eldest son of the ci-devant Prince de Monaco, Duc de Valentinois, Marquis des Baux, and he succeeded to these and many other titles at the Restoration. He had been an orderly officer in the Military Household, then aide de camp on Murat's staff; he had not shone in either capacity; he shone still less in the Empress's Stables after the divorce, and the result of an enquiry which Caulaincourt instituted with regard to him in 1811, was injurious to his reputation.

The Stables did very well, however, without M. de Monaco, and from 1803, they had been organized upon a sovereign footing, with their special autonomy and administration of funds, although attached for sake of order to the Stables of the First Consul, afterwards the Emperor. The direction was in the hands of an equerry, one Vigogne, the son of the First Consul's equerry, who had under his orders, an outrider, Guérin, two under-outriders, four coachmen, two postilions and fourteen grooms; at the Empire, an under-outrider, four coachmen, eight postilions and twenty grooms or harness-men were added: this amounted in salaries and wages to 69,300 francs; naturally, the number of persons employed was increased each year, but the augmentation was not so noticeable as it would have been in a State budget, since the total, in 1809, was only 92,000 francs, 14,000 francs being for salaries.

The men wore the livery of the First Consul or of the Emperor: green coat, scarlet vest, green cloth breeches, with more or less lace according to grades, and to whether the costume was State or undress livery. As the Emperor had no postilions à la d'Aumont, a costume for the Empress's postilions had to be adopted, and the one selected was more elegant and smarter than the livery: it consisted of a vest of green cloth with collar, facings, and belt in green velvet, plain gold lace at the seams, double lace at the lappels, under the buttons, and at the waist, and bullion epaulettes; this waistcoat was cut away over a scarlet under-waistcoat laced with gold, which in its turn was cut away over a waistcoat of pink, sky-blue, and white silk bordered with gold; the cap was leather with a black velvet band and a twisted gold tassel;

top-boots with long plated spurs completed an elegant costume—the only one in the imperial Household which bore any trace of English influence.

The number of horses had grown between the Consulate and the Empire in the same proportion as that of the men : thirty in 1803, fifty in 1804, one hundred in 1805. These horses cost, on an average, 1,518 francs each, an exceptional pair—entire horses, *Le Monarque* and *L'Impérial*—cost 4,224 francs. The carriages in ordinary use (twelve in 1804, fourteen in 1806), were of various colours; blue, sky-blue, yellow and black, blue and gold, yellow and red, lined with straw-colour, and blue and gold; very few were lined with green, and those bore initials only, not arms, and were used by the suite. These carriages were expensive, the travelling berlines cost 9,408 francs, the barouches à la d'Aumont 6,000, the town berlines 6,600, some of them more, even up to 8,000. The State carriages belonged to the Emperor's Stable establishment; there were none in the Empress's coach houses.

By rule, the carriage of the Empress should have been drawn always by eight horses, but on ordinary days she had only six, was preceded by an outrider with a hunting-knife at his side, and attended by the equerry, the officer in command of the escort, and the page in waiting at the carriage doors ; three footmen at least were on the seat behind. When the carriage used was a berline, a postilion rode with the second pair of horses, the other four were driven by the coachman from the box; with eight horses it was the same—there was only one postilion, the coachman driving the six. In the d'Aumont mode, with six horses, one of the postilions drove the second pair; the other, mounted on one of the wheelers drove the leading pair in German fashion. It seems that in the country and at the hunting-parties four horses only were used à la d'Aumont, but this was incorrect and indicated incognito.

The entire cost of the Empress's Stables attained the figure of 550,000 francs in the first years. After the style had been fully established, the expense became less, and was finally fixed at about 420,000 francs.

This system of private Stables, which were detached and almost independent, was contrary to the general rules of the Household : every ser-

vice involving the rendering of account, ought in fact to have been within the jurisdiction of each of the great officers, under the control of the Intendant General, and only the 'Service d'honneur' with the Privy Purse, and the Toilet funds administered by the Secretary of Expenses, ought to have been personal to the sovereign. After the second marriage, not only had the Empress no private Stables, but the equerries and chamberlains appointed to attend her were titular equerries and chamberlains to the Emperor. The Empress retained by right only her Ladies, her first Chaplain, her Gentlemen-in-waiting and her First Equerry.

Joséphine's Household, as constituted in 1804, and such as it became between that time and 1809, had then a special character which resembled that of the Queen's Household in nothing but the titles which were assumed in it; and it had very few features in common with the Household that was formed at a later period for Marie-Louise.

Joséphine's Household represented herself; it was characteristic of her rather than of the Emperor; it was not of monarchic, or democratic, but of family and mundane institution. It was not so much a Court as a Salon, a salon recruited by degrees, to which people were attracted with some difficulty at first, but where the level was raised with the aid of fashion, because certain interests were to be served by the attendance of certain persons there; so that after a time its earliest frequenters became rather embarrassing. The first improvisation made itself distinctly felt in a number of matters of detail, and the successive alluvions were clearly to be recognised. Joséphine had not a sufficiently firm hand to blend these heterogeneous elements into an apparently compact mass as the Emperor did. She received them, welcomed them, made herself pleasant to them, amused herself by talking to them, played the lady of the château, strove to please everybody, to hurt none, to do kindnesses, to form friendships; but she never succeeded in making herself respected, in establishing herself in her rank, in asserting herself as Empress; she still remained what she had been in such perfection, the wife of the First Consul. To that she had



JOSEPHINE IN 1808

Miniature by Parent

Belonging to M. Nemnich, Paris.

been able to rise, there she had been able to maintain her footing, in that position she had marvellously succeeded in winning favour. By what prodigy of cleverness and tact she did this, considering her education, the life she had led, the social phases she had passed through, we may well inquire in astonishment; but all the qualities she then exercised were exclusive of those she ought to have displayed as Empress, and so she did not grow in greatness by being surrounded by this Household, by receiving sovereign honours; she was lessened by it rather—for it was not fitting that she should keep the same level. The explanation is that while she possessed the qualities that befitted the one rank, she did not possess those far different defects which would have enabled her to fill her new position with success. And, in truth, to expect her to do this was to demand the impossible.



EMBLEMATIC ORNAMENT

Drawing by Percier and Fontaine

Line & Stipple Engraving by Tomkins



III

CEREMONIES AND FÊTES.

In France it was solely at the moment when she became a mother that the wife of the Sovereign acquired an absolutely inalienable dignity : that day witnessed the initial institution of her political rights, and her personal rôle in the State began. Until then, repudiation hung over her : examples of this were so frequent in the third dynasty alone, that it had become almost a law of the monarchy, and if the intervention of the religious authority was requisite to its accomplishment in certain forms, this was due to a sort of deference on the part of the royal authority, and on the understanding that the demand, on what pretext soever it might be made, should always be granted. Louis VII. repudiated Eléonore of Aequitaine; Philippe II. repudiated Ingeburge of Denmark ; Louis XII. repudiated Jeanne of France ; Henri IV. repudiated Marguerite de Valois. The King's wife was not certain that she should continue to be queen, retaining the dignity and the honours of that rank, until she had accomplished the special function which devolved upon her, that of securing the continuation of the race into which she had been received, of serving as a connecting link between the past and the future.

Such being the position of queens in those old dynasties which were assured of an almost indefinite succession by the number of their agnates, how much more precarious was the situation of the wife of a founder of

a dynasty in whose case the perpetuation of his achievement was inseparable from the perpetuation of his race, and to whom it was of essential importance to constitute a logical and natural order of heredity not only in the future, but even in the present. Napoleon was constantly constrained to think of that other founder of a dynasty with whom he had associated himself by rendering honours to him, by the titles which he assumed, and those which he conferred, by the form into which he had cast his empire, seeking, as it were, to legitimize it by reverting to the antique models that had been discarded since the usurpation of Hugues-Capet : now what sovereign had repudiated so many wives as Charlemagne, who had nine legal spouses without reckoning the others ?

And Joséphine had the more cause for fear because she had not acquired her dangerous position all at once, she had not entered into it at a single step, she had not laid hold of it by right of birth : there was no parity between her past and her present, no equilibrium in her life, no justification for her fortune. Everything about her was obscure, ordinary and commonplace, except that which was not herself, except the man who had loved her, taken her by the hand, and led her step by step to this stupendous height. Here she was, however, by his side, living in his life, united to him by a civil contract. By some unfelt mode of progression, through the natural gallantry of the French, the political necessities of the time, and Bonaparte's still abiding love, she had come to be associated by degrees, it was hardly known how, with the homage that was paid to the First Consul, although she had neither title nor quality to receive any such homage; it was rendered by pure good-will and courtesy, and no doubt was understood to be in no way binding. Salons through which all the men or women in Europe who were distinguished by birth, dignities, or intelligence, passed; a table at which guests were entertained on fixed days in companies varying in number from one hundred and twenty to two hundred and ten persons; a society which it was intended to re-form and re-establish, with manners, rules,

fashions, and a 'ton'—in short everything, great designs as well as ordinary occasions, demanded the presence of a woman. Would Napoleon continue to keep this woman in that place? He did not know. Three times already he had been on the point of breaking with her; but in the meantime she was there, he found her useful, he still loved her; in proportion as he rose, he drew her up after him; the more his wife's enemies caballed against her the more he persisted; contradiction roused him and resistance was a satisfaction: for were not these proofs of the supremacy of that power which had enabled him to raise her out of the nothingness to which he might once more consign her by a word.

And so, as she had been associated at the time of the Life Consulate with the almost royal honours rendered to Bonaparte, on the creation of the Empire she became at first associated with the imperial honours, and then she was personally designated to receive special honours in her acquired quality as Empress. But her position was no more definitely fixed, no more secure, no less precarious than before; these honours did not constitute a guarantee against the ever-threatening repudiation, or any security for her future which remained obscure.

* * *

It was not for her, in fact, it was not for Joséphine that those honours were decreed and formulated; it was for the Empress as such, the typical Empress, the functional Empress, if we may so express our meaning. Joséphine enjoyed them, but in a temporary, occasional way: certain articles, the most important in the political order, could not apply to her, and therefore distinctly menaced her, since rules were prescribed by them for the status of the Empress under circumstances in which it was materially impossible for Joséphine to be placed. These were the articles that provided for the Regency, from which women were excluded, by paragraph 2 of Article XVIII. of the Consultum of the 28th Floréal, Year XII., and for the guardianship of the Emperor as

a minor, which was entrusted to the Empress Mother by paragraph I of Article XXX.

It was then, so to speak, only 'in the meantime,' only while awaiting the other woman who was inevitably to replace her some day, that Joséphine received civil and military honours similar to those which were paid to the Emperor, with the exception of the presentation of the keys on arrival in the 'good towns' and of everything relating to the command of the troops and to the 'consigne.' When she entered a fortified town the entire garrison was under arms; the cavalry went forward to meet her at the distance of half a league, the trumpets sounded the march; the officers and the standards saluted; one half of the infantry was drawn up in battle array on the glacis, the other half lined the road; the officers and the flags saluted, the sub-officers and the soldiers presented arms; the drums beat a salute and the artillery of the fortress fired three salvos. Her place of abode was guarded by a battalion of infantry with a flag, commanded by the colonel; by a squadron of cavalry commanded by the colonel; before the door stood two sentries sword in hand. If she drove through the town, the troops on guard presented arms and the drums beat a salute, both as on her arrival and departure.

In the ports, she was similarly received. On her embarking, the square imperial flag was flown at the mast-head of her barge, and when she went on board a vessel, the same flag was hoisted and saluted with seven shouts of "Vive l'Empereur!" and all the guns were fired. When she travelled, she had an escort of infantry and an escort of cavalry; the prefect of each department, the sub-prefect of each district, the mayor of each commune met her on its border; all the bells were set ringing, and, if she passed before a church, the Curé, with all his clergy in sacerdotal vestments, stood at the entrance.

In whatever place she resided, there was a picket of sixteen men, with an officer, to follow when she drove out. When she returned to Paris after a somewhat prolonged absence, her arrival was announced by cannon, and all the constituted bodies came to offer congratulations and homage

which she received seated on her throne and surrounded by her House hold.

Her armorial bearings were those of the Emperor : on azure, an eagle in gold pouncing on a thunderbolt of the same. The crown was also alike: from a golden circlet set with jewels rose six fleurons, whence sprang six half-circles; these met in a hooped globe surmounted by a cross ; eagles essorant filled the spaces between the half-circles, three were visible on the external face. The mantle on which the shield was placed was the same as that of the Emperor : amaranth sown with golden bees, bordered with a broad band of embroidery, lined with ermine, and having the curtains raised by a flat floating band sown with bees. The Empress did not carry the crown on the helmet of embossed gold damaged in front and with open vizor ; this was reserved for the Emperor ; the attributes of sovereignty, the Sceptre and the Hand of Justice, did not pass saltirewise behind her shield, nor was the latter surrounded by the collar of the Grand Master of the Legion, wherein trophies of the various branches of arms are displayed. But she was the only one who carried these full arms ; all the other members of the Family to whom the imperial shield was granted carried it with a rebatement; none were entitled to the crowned eagle, none to the mantle fashioned like his and hers.

The State carriage of the Empress, hers alone, was drawn by eight horses like that of the Emperor ; all her servants wore the Emperor's livery without any variation ; her officers had coats of the same shape, colour, and ornament, as those worn by the officers of the corresponding services in the Emperor's Household.

She herself had a special costume for ceremonies : on State occasions it was a gown of white silk without a train, embroidered and ornamented with gold fringe, the bodice was adorned with lace, either gold, blonde, or English point raised upon a whalebone structure so as to form a collar standing up behind the neck and framing the shoulders ; this was called "la chérusque;" a white sash embroidered in gold was tied at the waist and fell on the gown; a mantle with a long train, of the same colour

as the Emperor's, and embroidered in the same way, was fastened to the shoulders; a diadem of gold and precious stones was worn with this dress.

The Court dress was a 'round' gown, in stuff of French manufacture, with chérusque, sash with ends, and long-trained mantle put on from the waist. She might choose the design of the embroidery for the gown and mantle; it might be in silk, in gold, or in silver, and embroidery or fringe, or both, might be used to ornament the edge of either the gown or the mantle.

No person formed part of the Court or might be invited—except to the very rare great balls—unless he or she had been presented to the Empress. Women, whether French or foreigners, were presented to her first, and afterwards to the Emperor; the inverse rule applied to men.

Thus Joséphine apparently enjoyed all the highest and most distinguished honours, but she enjoyed them by chance, a strange turn of fortune in a transient kind of way: she was there en passant only, and she felt this always. She was in a state of continual apprehension; Napoleon was in one of certainty; nevertheless, his action with regard to her was contradictory; in fact it afforded a singular instance of that trait for which his character was remarkable. On this Empress to whom he refused a right to any share in the supreme power, even were she to bear him a child, this Joséphine whom he was determined one day to repudiate, he bestowed the most conspicuous, the most coveted, the most personal and individual honour that could possibly exist, an honour which only one queen, Marie de Médicis, had obtained in France for two centuries, a political honour which involved accession to the royal authority, a religious honour which conferred the graces necessary for the exercise of that authority by the virtue of the sacrament. Napoleon associated Joséphine with his coronation, he associated her with the consecration (sacre) which he received from the Vicar of Jesus Christ.

He did not see, or did not choose to see the consequences; he seems to have looked upon that essentially religious ceremony, binding upon him



THE CORONATION.—THE DEPARTURE FROM THE TUILERIES

Drawing by Isabey, Percier and Fontaine

(Lent by Queen Marie Amélie)



for ever, as a supreme compliment paid by him to his wife which did not commit him to anything. The political nullity of Joséphine remained unchanged, her conjugal fortunes were no more secure than before. She was on the morrow what she had been on the eve of the coronation-day: she had merely participated in one more fête, the most splendid, the most memorable of all fêtes,—one without precedent in the past, and destined to remain without repetition in the future.

Save on that unique occasion, whenever national ceremonies or political and constitutional acts took place, Joséphine appeared simply as a figurante, a guest, a spectator. It was only at family festivals and Court fêtes that she was placed by the side of the Emperor. Whatever was matter of compliment and display, rejoicing and amusement, and concerned society and the family, fell to her share. She was the first lady of France, but it is the fact that notwithstanding all her external honours, she was not treated as an empress. We may learn beyond question that such was the case by merely comparing the rights and prerogatives which Napoleon assigned to Marie-Louise because she was the mother of his son, with those granted by him to Joséphine who was merely his wife.

Just because Joséphine had nothing to do with political matters, we can give our minds more unreservedly to the splendour of things, and more closely contemplate the woman in her sumptuous environment. Her attire is not only the richest possible, but it is arranged with infinite art to suit her face, her air, her figure, her carriage, and it represents, under all circumstances and on all occasions, the highest possible point which feminine luxury had attained at that period. Everything relating to the ceremonies in which the Empress had a share deserves and demands to be carefully noted: etiquette and customs, the costumes of the actors and the spectators, the order and grandeur of the pageants, the beauty of the coaches, the charm of fine music and rhythmical dancing; also, the splendour of the saloons, the regulation of the great staircases, and the palaces constructed to perfection for such triumphal purposes: but as, in reality, these fêtes closely resembled each other, we shall restrict

ourselves to a few examples, in order to avoid a wearisome enumeration, and the repetition of details which might seem idle.

The ceremony of the Coronation, or Sacre, must come first, and as it is a thing apart, and unique of its kind, the part in it which was assigned to Joséphine is all the more interesting to verify.

* * *

The Emperor having decided that the Empress was to be crowned and consecrated, the ceremonial had to be regulated so as to assign a place to her, a costume had to be designed for her, and honours, befitting her dignity, and, in a measure, like those bestowed upon the Emperor, had to be decreed to her. There could be no equality in those honours: neither sword, nor sceptre, nor Hand of Justice; but, like the Emperor, the crown, the ring, and the mantle. This mantle was to be carried by all the princesses; hence many storms, from whose pitiless pelting Napoleon took refuge in a concession: he permitted each of the ladies to have her own mantle carried by an officer of her household walking behind her; and made the Grand Master of Ceremonies write that they would have "to follow the Empress at every step of the ceremony *and to support Her Majesty's mantle.*" They supported it with so little effect that, as the Empress was ascending the steps of the great throne, she tottered for a moment under the load and seemed about to fall backward. What must have been the weight of that mantle of purple velvet, four ells in length and eight in width, covered with golden bees in embossed work, bordered, above a wide band of ermine, with heavy embroidery of laurel, olive, and oak branches framing the letter N.? The mantle was lined throughout with ermine, the fur extending four inches beyond the gold border; it had only one open sleeve, owing to its being of the dalmatic shape; it was fastened on the left shoulder only, and merely caught up on the same side by a diamond clasp. The cost of the furs, furnished by Toultet, was 10,300 francs for Russian ermine and

380 francs for Astrakhan skins; the embroidery, executed by Leroy and Raimbaud, had cost 16,800 francs, and cost of the velvet with the lining of white twill and sarcenet had also to be reckoned.

The Empress's ring had been adorned with a ruby—emblem of joy—supplied by the treasury of the Crown; while an emerald—emblem of divine revelation—was set in the Emperor's ring.

The crown, which was pronounced to be antiquated six years later, but nevertheless had to be worn by Marie-Louise, after the marriage, for, said Napoleon, "it is not handsome, but it has a particular character, and I wish to attach it to my dynasty," was a golden circlet enriched with brilliants and emeralds, from whence rose eight half-circles in the form of laurel and myrtle leaves; these met together on a very small globe surmounted by a cross. A peculiar appearance was given to this circlet by its being placed rather forward so as almost to join a very high diadem of gold, conical in form, and covered with amethysts—emblems of the union of love and wisdom—a very large amethyst surrounded with brilliants was set in the centre; and this diadem, placed on the forehead so that only a few curls appeared beneath it, seemed to make a part of the crown.

The making-up of the diadem, the crown, and the girdle, by Marguerite, cost 15,000 francs; Marguerite also furnished two thousand two hundred and sixty brilliants for 867,369 francs 10 centimes.

Now let us see Joséphine in her glory.

It is ten o'clock in the morning of the 11th Frimaire, Year XIII. (2nd of December, 1804); to the accompaniment of the roar of artillery the pageant sets out from the Tuileries. It is cold, the terrible cold of December, but the weather is fine and the sky is blue. From the Carrousel the procession proceeds by way of the Rue Saint-Nicaise, follows the Rue Saint-Honoré, the Rue du Roule, crosses the Pont-Neuf, passes from the Quai des Orfèvres to the Rue Saint-Louis, the Rue du Marché-Neuf, and the Rue du Cloître-Notre-Dame. Through the sanded streets, most of these

being less than seven yards in width, between double lines of infantry, rides Marshal Murat, Governor of Paris, and his staff, first, then four squadrons of Carabineers, four squadrons of Cuirassiers, and the Chasseurs of the Garde, intermingled with Mamelukes; after these a wide space, then four heralds of arms on horseback, wearing tabards of violet velvet embroidered with eagles in gold, a first carriage drawn by six horses in which the masters and assistants of the ceremonies are seated; this is followed by ten others for the great officers of the Empire, the Ministers, the great officers of the Crown, the great dignitaries, the Princesses. These carriages are large berlines with hammer-cloths, cloth of gold lining and the imperial arms upon the panels : each has cost between seven and eight thousand francs. The horses—one hundred and forty have been bought for the occasion at the average price of 1,314 francs apiece—are driven, the two leaders by a mounted groom, the others four-in-hand by the coachman. Behind each carriage are three of the Emperor's footmen.

A space—acclamations—the Emperor! The eight dun-coloured horses, with white head-plumes, plaited manes and tails, ear-knots and cockades of red and gold ribbons, are held in hand, each under its harness of red morocco with carved bronze ornaments, by a man on foot, an outrider is mounted on one of the two leaders; the others are driven six-in-hand by the Emperor's coachman, César Germain, in his grandest garb, hat with green and white feather edging, silk stockings with gold-embroidered clocks, gold lace on all the seams of his wide green coat, his scarlet vest, and his green breeches.

The carriage is like a great gilded and painted cage made transparent by its eight glasses : the roof is laden with a heavy crown carried by four eagles; four allegorical figures support the canopy, at the frontons eagles again, entwined in wreaths; open friezes, with medallions representing the principal departments of the Empire connected by a link of palm leaves, decorate the body; the arms of the Empire are emblazoned on the panels, the seats, and the steps; the wheels are ornamented with open work wood carvings, and emblems accompanied by garlands. This carriage

was executed from drawings by Fontaine at the cost of 114,000 francs, but Fontaine regarded it as a failure "because, for the sake of economy, its richness and magnificence had been much curtailed." Behind the coach-box, which is far in front of the gilded body of the vehicle, and even behind the carriage, as many of the pages as there is room for cluster, six here, seven there; all pretty, lively little fellows, becurled and be-ribboned; each one wears a green top-knot fluttering on the shoulder of his state livery gold-laced on all the seams. This band of gilded schoolboys, with their rosy faces freshened by the sharp air, brings mirth into the solemnity, and, as it were, spring into winter.

The interior of the carriage is all white velvet embroidered in gold, and lavishly adorned with laurels, olives, palms, bees, stars of the Legion, and the letter N. At the back, on the right, sits the Emperor, Joséphine on the left—(they had placed themselves in front by mistake on getting into the carriage, for there was nothing to distinguish one seat from the other, both were of similar length and width)—in front sits Joseph facing his brother, Louis is opposite his mother-in-law.

Joséphine is arrayed in a long-sleeved robe of white satin sown with bees and embroidered in silver and gold; round the skirt there is raised embroidery with gold fringes: on the bodice and the upper part of the sleeves are clusters of diamonds. That rich gown alone, furnished by Pochet and Raimbaud and their new partner Leroy, has cost 10,000 francs. It widens out at the shoulders into a chérusque of chenilled blonde —240 francs' worth—and attached to the waist is a court train—it is called 'bas de robe'—of white velvet embroidered in gold; this cost 7,000 francs, but it was not considered sufficiently rich, so seven ells of fringe at 150 francs the ell were added to it. The white velvet shoes embroidered in gold cost 650 francs. These shoes are worn over silk stockings with gold clocks. The gloves are white, embroidered in gold.

The Empress has a diadem on her head—it is not that which she will wear at the ceremony—it is composed of pearls and diamonds very lightly set. Its value is reckoned at 1,032,000 francs: one single diamond

in the middle is worth 165,000 francs. Her necklace and earrings are carved gems set in diamonds, and her girdle is entirely covered with diamonds. She carries millions on her, and is neither weighted nor embarrassed by them. Never has she been more lovely, never has she appeared more elegant ; her forty-one years might be hardly thirty. What matter though some of these charms be borrowed, though the eyes be brightened by the aid of art, and the face be 'made-up!' A touch of the theatre is necessary for the effect of such a pageant in full day, under the broad unshaded sunlight, and at Joséphine's distance from the crowd.

And is there not supreme art—(whether the invention be Joséphine's own or that of the dressmakers whom she inspires)— an art which meets the requirements of such ceremonies, in the cutting of the bodice in a low square on the chest, with the high collarette of lace rising from the shoulders, encircling the neck, justifying the wearing of either long or short sleeves, guarded by the turning-down of the edge from the exaggeration of the starched fraise of the Valois, but avoiding the uncovering of the back that is so unbecoming in daylight costume, indeed in all costumes for great occasions?

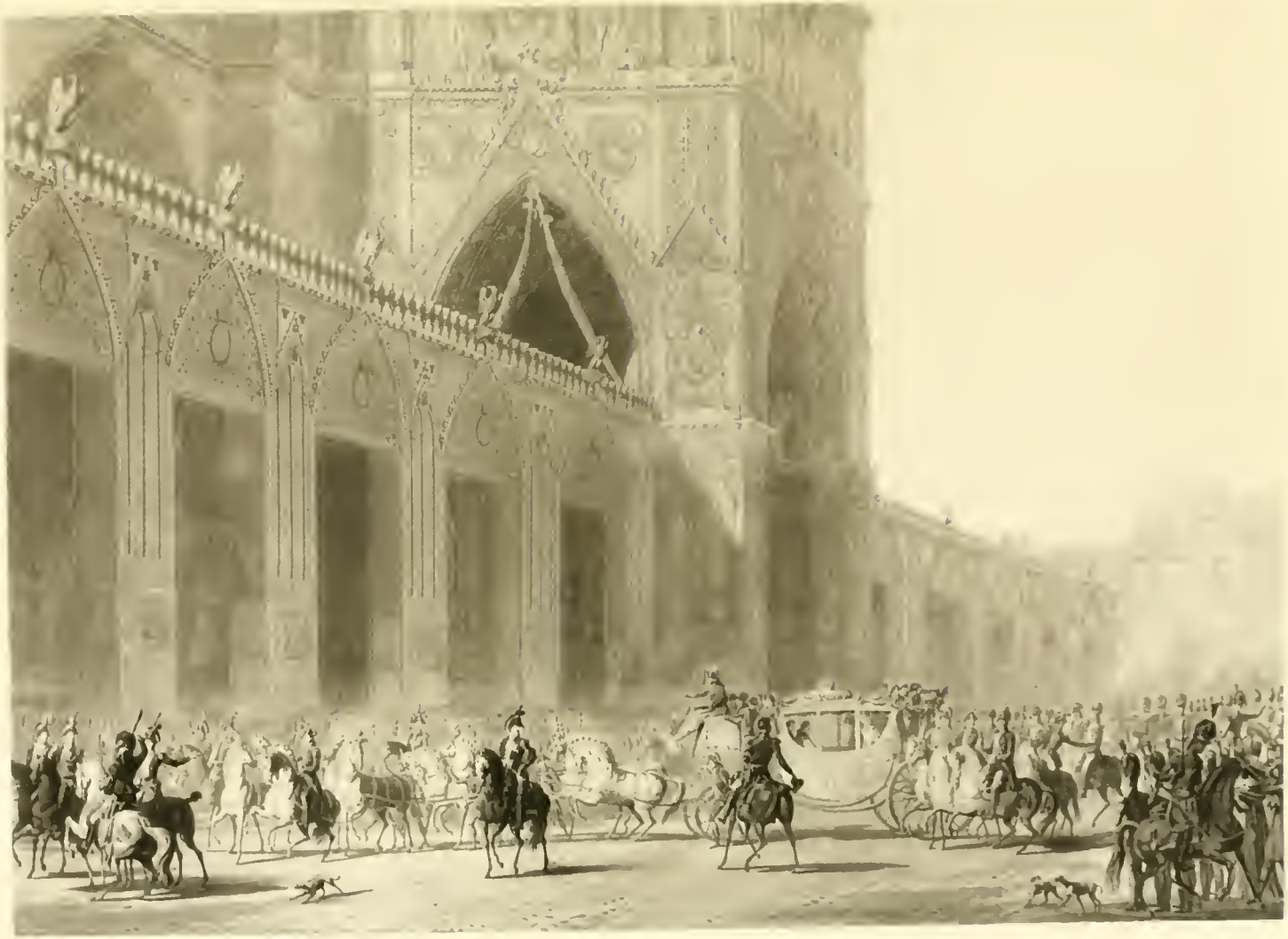
The pageant is advancing ; there is no foot-warmer in the carriage, only a bear's skin spread under-foot, and the Empress, like all the other women who take part in the ceremony, has to endure considerable exposure of her neck and chest to the cold air. The procession is spreading itself out : around Their Majesties' coach there is a cavalcade ; Aides de camp on a line with the horses, Colonel-generals of the Garde at the doors, Equerries at the back wheels, a Marshal commanding the Gendarmerie riding behind the carriage.

Then follow thirteen berlines each drawn by six horses, for the Officers and the Ladies of the Emperor, the Empress, the princes, the princesses, the princes-grand-dignitaries ;—then the mounted Grenadiers intermingled with gunners and a squadron of picked men from the Gendarmerie. This

THE CORONATION — THE ARRIVAL AT NOTRE-DAME

Drawing by Isabey, Percier and Fontaine

[illegible]



is all : but bands, augmented for the occasion by all the instrumentalists of Paris and the provinces who had not been included in the formidable levy made by Lesueur of three hundred musicians for the orchestra of Notre-Dame, march with each body of troops. And the immense machine winds its way through the narrow little streets of old Paris and the Cité, between the double line of infantry who can hardly keep back the populace, increased by three quarters, by the influx from the provinces, and reckoned at the most modest computation at five hundred thousand spectators.

At a quarter to twelve o'clock, the sovereigns arrive at the tent erected opposite to the Pont de la Cité in front of the Archevêché, which communicates with the covered portico before the great door of Notre-Dame by a long wooden gallery hung with tapestry. Here the Emperor assumes the imperial ornaments and is arrayed in his grand costume; her imperial mantle is put on Joséphine's shoulders and the diadem of amethysts on her head; then, the cortège proceeds on foot : the ushers, the heralds of arms, the pages, the masters and assistants of the ceremonies ; the Grand Master in his costume of violet velvet, his key at his side and his wand of office in his hand, Marshal Sérurier carrying the cushion on which the Empress's ring will presently be laid, Marshal Moncey carrying the basket that is to hold the mantle, Marshal Murat carrying the crown upon a cushion. All three are encircled by chamberlains and equerries. The Empress comes next, having her First Equerry on her right, on her left her First Chamberlain. Her mantle is supported by the five princesses, the Emperor's sisters-in-law and sisters. Their heads are dressed, according to their fancy, with feathers and diamonds; their long-sleeved gowns are white, embroidered in gold, with a 'bas de robe' of coloured velvet embroidered in gold, mimicking the mantle : behind each of them walks the first officer of her Household, carrying this mantle. Next and by themselves come the Lady-in-waiting and the Lady-of-the-Bedchamber to the Empress, then her six Ladies of the Palace.

Now comes the Emperor's procession : first, the Marshals who carry the 'Honneurs,' or regalia, of Charlemagne ; the crown, the sceptre and the

sword; next, those who carry the 'Honneurs' of the Emperor : the ring and the globe; then the Emperor, his head 'laurelled' with the golden crown, holding with one hand the imperial sceptre of silver-gilt, with the other, the Hand of Justice set upon its silver-gilt, pearl-ornamented staff : the princes-grand-dignitaries supporting his mantle. The procession ends with the twenty-six great officers of the Crown and of the Empire, who have no particular function in the ceremony, and who walk four abreast.

Holy water has been offered to the Emperor by Cardinal de Belloy and is offered to Joséphine by Cardinal Cambacérès. She, like the Emperor, advances to the choir under a canopy carried by Canons; there, like the Emperor, she is incensed, and while the great dignitaries and the great officers receive the regalia carried by the Emperor, and lay them out upon the altar, the Lady-in-Waiting and the Lady of the Bedchamber approach the Empress, unfasten her mantle, remove the small crown, and place the Empress's regalia, the crown, the mantle and the ring, on the altar beside the Emperor's. After the Pope has given the sacred unction, the triple unction, to the Emperor, His Holiness repeats the same action, with the same prayers, anointing the Empress on the head and on the palms of both her hands. Also when the Pontiff blesses the imperial emblems, Mass being in progress, he blesses the mantles, the rings and the crosses together; and when His Holiness delivers his insignia to the Emperor it is with the same prayers as those he offers for the Empress : "Receive this ring which is the sign of the Holy Faith, the proof of the power and the solidity of your Empire, by which, owing to its triumphal power, you shall conquer your enemies, you shall destroy heresies, you shall maintain union among your subjects and you shall remain attached with perseverance to the Catholic Faith." Then His Holiness makes delivery of the mantle : "May the Lord so clothe you with His power that, while you shine outwardly with the splendour of this garment, you may shine inwardly by the merit of your virtues in the eyes of that God to whom nothing of the past is unknown, from whom nothing of the future is hidden, by whom Kings reign and the founders of laws find justice."

The Emperor then goes up to the altar upon which the Imperial Crown, the Crown of gold with laurel leaves, is laid ; he places it himself upon his head, according to the ceremonial which Charlemagne ordered for his son, Louis le Débonnaire, when he caused him to be crowned ; afterwards he takes the Empress's crown in his hands, sets it lightly on his own head for a moment; then, he comes down the steps of the altar, goes to Joséphine who is kneeling, and with a very gentle and noble action, a sort of tender and sacred deliberation, he places that crown upon her head, and her Ladies settle it in a second. The Pope pronounces the great orison : " May God crown you with the crown of glory and justice, may He arm you with strength and courage, so that, by the virtue of Our Benediction, with true faith and through the manifold fruits of your good works, you may attain to the crown of the eternal kingdom by the grace of Him whose reign and empire last throughout all the ages. "

But all this is not yet enough : now the procession is again set in motion, re-crosses the choir and approaches the great throne. In the middle of the nave, facing the altar, at the top of a straight staircase of twenty-nine steps covered with a blue carpet sown with bees, a wide platform has been laid down under a sort of dome to which a red velvet tent is attached. In the centre of this estrade stands a wide and massive armchair : it is heavy and sumptuous, richly decorated with gold embroidery and fringe, and its rounded back, in the shape of an antique crown, displays the capital N, surrounded by the stars of the six cohorts of the Legion, on the red velvet. On the right, one step lower, is a smaller arm-chair, similar in shape, and equally rich in decoration, embroidery, and carvings. The splendid company ascend the steep steps ; the weight of her mantle pulls the Empress back and makes her stagger for a moment, as though she were about to fall backwards. Napoleon and Joséphine take their seats, and the Pope, who comes up the steps last, approaches and blesses them : " May God establish you upon this throne of Empire, and may Jesus Christ, King of Kings, Lord of Lords, who

lives and reigns with God the Father and the Holy Spirit, make you to reign with Him to all eternity." Then His Holiness kisses the Emperor on the cheek and turning towards those present he pronounces the *Vivat Imperator in aeternum*. And that Vivat resounds in the music composed by the Abbé Roze, and executed by the choirs who alternate with and respond to each other, blending at last into one great ecstasy of rejoicing.

This is followed by the *Te Deum*, a series of prayers, and the continuation of the Mass: at the Gospel, the Grand Almoner presents the Sacred book to be kissed by both the Emperor and Joséphine; at the offertory it is for the Empress that the Maréchale Ney carries the wax torch in which thirteen pieces of gold are incrusted,—for her Madame de Luçay carries the silver loaf.

She is of course not included in the ceremony of the Emperor's taking the oath, after Mass is over, to the Constitutions of the Republic, and the Herald King at Arms does not pronounce her name when he proclaims "The consecration and the enthronization of the most glorious and most august emperor Napoleon." But is not all this enough of honour for one day?

The procession returns through a different part of Paris; from the Parvis de Notre-Dame, by the Rue de la Barillerie, the Pont au Change, the Place du Châtelet, and the Rue Saint-Denis the procession passes to the Boulevards and regains the Tuileries by the Place de la Concorde. It is three o'clock when their Majesties leave Notre-Dame, at half-past six they arrive at the Tuileries. It is dark, all the windows are illuminated, lighted torches surround the different cortèges, and the effect is to render the spectacle still more strange and grand.

The Emperor revels in his triumph: it is his good pleasure that Joséphine, dining alone with him, shall wear the crown that she carries so gracefully; he pays compliments to the Ladies of the Palace, to each of whom he has given ten thousand francs' worth of diamonds; for "the Coronation has let loose a flood of gold upon Paris, both from the Imperial Treasury, and from private purses," and such are the legends

in circulation concerning the Treasury, that Napoleon thinks fit to publish in the *Moniteur* that, far from having cost from fifty to sixty millions, the Coronation cost the Crown but three. Ten would have been nearer the mark. His own costume and that of the Empress cost 1,123,000 francs 44 centimes : the expenses charged to special credits amounted to seven millions and a half, and those on the ordinary budget to more than three millions—without reckoning the sums carried to the account of the State—1,500,000 francs ; to the account of the City, 1,745,646 francs ; the million expended on preparations in Year XII. ; the 117,000 francs for two pictures by David ; 194,436 francs 72 centimes for the *Livres du Sacre ;* the 45,000 francs of pension in perpetuity to the Pope's relations ; and all the presents made to the Pope, the Cardinals, the Monsignori, the officers,—to say nothing of the rest !

The Coronation day, that never-to-be-forgotten 11th Frimaire, unparalleled in grandeur and in cost, unique in its events and its renown, was followed by a series of day and evening entertainments given by all the State bodies who vied with each other in splendour. By these fêtes, even by uniforms and women's dress alone, Paris gained millions. It is impossible to estimate the figures, for it was no longer from one treasury only that the money flowed, it was from every purse. One example may suffice to give an idea of this : a General of Brigade, having come to Paris for one month, spent thirty-three thousand francs upon nothing but " the indispensable ! " The rent of a garret was fifteen francs a day, and a hairdresser charged sixty francs for dressing a lady's hair once.

We need make brief mention only of the public rejoicings, those of the 12th Frimaire, which extended over all Paris, from the Place de la Concorde to the Arsenal, with fair-shows, dancing-booths, maypoles, merry-go-rounds, bands of music in cars going through the streets, the heralds-at-arms throwing Coronation medals to the people, thirteen thousand in gold, seventy-five thousand in silver, balloons sent up from the

Place de la Concorde and the colossal pyrotechnic display on the Pont de la Concorde. Nor need we linger over the fête of the Distribution of the Eagles—put off for two days because Joséphine was over-fatigued—the terrible fête under a downpour of rain mingled with snow which lasted continuously for thirty-six hours. The shivering spectators, umbrellas in hand, at length fled from the spot; the troops, a lamentable spectacle, filed off into the Champs-Élysées which was a mere lake of mud; the Empress herself, finding it impossible to remain, quitted the estrade and withdrew with Princess Louis; all the dresses and uniforms were spoiled —a fine windfall for lacemen and dressmakers.

Passing over the grand 'solemn audiences' given by the Emperor on his throne to all the State bodies in full-dress (a senator's coat cost 2,400 francs, and the others nearly as much), and also over the opening of the sitting of the Corps Législatif, we shall dwell only on the fêtes presided over by Joséphine, those which were personally dedicated to her; not popular fêtes, such as that of the Senate, but fashionable fêtes outside of political matters so to speak, and where feminine luxury might be displayed to any extent.

The first was the fête given by the City of Paris in the Hôtel de Ville, where the salons were tripled by an immense wooden edifice erected in the court, and by a gallery with a façade of glass, from whence the fireworks on the Pont Napoléon were to be seen. Six hundred ladies, all the functionaries, leading men in commerce, and distinguished savants and artists in Paris were invited. Noon was the hour of arrival. At half-past one the doors were shut and the head butlers announced dinner. There were three galleries, five tables in each; ladies took their places first, and were succeeded by men, then other men: it was a colossal feast. The Emperor set out from the Tuileries at three o'clock, with the same cortège, the same escorts, the same carriages as on the Coronation Day. His Majesty was, like Joséphine, in 'petit costume.' The Empress wore one of Leroy's compositions, short sleeves, lace chérusque, 'bas de robe' of coloured velvet: one of those gowns which cost twelve thousand francs each—the



THE CORONATION.—THE EMPRESS IN FULL DRESS

Drawing by Isabey

Musée du Louvre



gown of silver net and satin embroidered in gold and silver, with 'bas de robe' in lilac velvet embroidered in silver convolvulus blossoms—or the gown of embroidered silver net with 'bas de robe' in pink velvet—or, better still, the robe of embroidered gold net, with 'bas de robe' of white velvet embroidered with bouquets of violets, the broad border embroidered in gold, trimmed with gold fringe and sown with one hundred and sixty-three dozens of emeralds, which, at twelve or fifteen francs the dozen, increased the cost of the dress by 2,160 francs 75 centimes.

At the Pont-Neuf, the Municipal Body, headed by the Governor, made their first compliment; then, at the perron, a second. Here everything seems to have been for Joséphine; in the sketch of the arrival at the Hotel de Ville which David made for one of the four pictures of the Coronation fêtes, it is she, standing on the step of the coach, who occupies the centre of the composition and attracts all eyes. Of the two medals struck for this fête, one is consecrated to her; unfortunately, it is not the admirable one designed by Prud'hon, but the small and inferior one done by Brenet, with conjoined portraits of the Emperor and Empress. This is the first and only medal on which she is officially represented, for, not even for her visits to the Mint, not even for the Coronation, did Denon, her ungrateful protégé, dedicate, or would he ever dedicate, a single one of his medals to her. After the speeches and the presentations in the Salle du Trône, Joséphine was conducted to the apartments prepared for her: and there she found a toilet service presented by the City of Paris, which was equal in perfection of execution to the table plate presented to the Emperor. The service in silver-gilt comprised a large mirror, a large ewer with its bowl, a water-jug with its basin, two candlesticks with three branches, three pomade pots, two goblets, a bowl in gold, two boxes, two pairs of scissors, a powder-knife, a tongue-scraper, the settings of six crystal scent-bottles. This service was Germain's masterpiece, but the weight was moderate; in the inventory of 1814 the valuation of the material is only 14,600 francs.

And again at the Banquet, all the honours were for her, for she only was conducted with the Emperor into the glazed gallery to see the fire-works from thence.

Again for her was the fête given at the Salle Chantereine by the generals of the Armies of Land and Sea—the fête for which each general of Division put down 3,000 francs and every Brigadier 1,500, and the cost of the supper alone, served by Véry, was 60,000 francs ; for her was the fête given by the Marshals of the Empire in the Opera-house, which was decorated with silver gauze and wreaths of flowers,—the sum of 25,000 francs being contributed by each of the eighteen Marshals and by Duroc, 475,000 francs were expended in the fitting-up, the concert and the supper.

The Corps Législatif deserved the palm of invention, and Fontanes displayed more imagination in organising their fête than in a whole canto of *La Délivrance de la Grèce*, more adulation even than in one of his own speeches. Here, and this is the point, Joséphine was alone : to her only the fête seems dedicated. She enters the Salle des Séances, accompanied by a deputation of eight legislators. The magnificent Chamber is illuminated, adorned with trophies of arms, eagles and shields. The Empress is saluted by the chorus of Gluck's *Iphigénie* which has become a sort of hymn of the sovereigns :

Que d'attraits ! Que de majesté !

She takes her place, opposite the President, in a tribune where she is surrounded by the princes, the princesses and the great dignitaries : on the lower tiers are the members of the Corps Législatif in full-dress, on the upper the most elegant and best dressed women of the Court and the City. In the centre of the hemicycle a veiled statue stands

The Empress being seated, the minutes of the sitting of the 3rd Germinal, Year XII., when the assembly had voted the erection of this statue, are read by the President ; then he requests the two Marshals Masséna and Murat, to approach and unveil it. The whole assembly rises,

the orchestra strikes up the 'Vivat' composed by the Abbe Roze; the statue is revealed.

It was nude, in accordance with antique tradition; but the sculptor, Chaudet, had thrown a toga over the left shoulder. The Emperor, with crowned head and sandalled feet, holds out the roll of the Law in his right hand. The resemblance of the head is said to be striking; at any rate, this is henceforth the official type of the founder of the dynasty.

Then came speeches, competing in eloquence, by Vaublanc and Fontanes, and vocal music on themes of war and peace: at length the ceremony came to an end and the spectators passed into the salons of the palace, which were decorated in true poetical style to celebrate the renown of the hero. Salle des Grands Hommes de l'Antiquité, Salon de Mars, Salle des Victoires, Salon de Flore—this for Joséphine; a salon decorated with trophies of musical instruments; a salon "in the style of the old chivalry," the paper hangings sown with bees, with wreaths of ivy, festoons of flowers, shields, eagles, and arms: there on an estrade, under a dais of crimson silk, in front of a throne, the Empress's table was laid; at the sides of the dais were banners, eagles, the cross of the Legion; at the back an immense mirror. And beyond, the Salon of the Nine Muses; and yet again beyond, the Salle de Lucrèce, adorned with rare plants and redolent of jonquils and jessamine.

Joséphine took her seat on her throne, and then only Napoleon arrived: he remained for an hour, and withdrew with the Empress.

No doubt the flattery was too gross for him to receive it in person; he refused to be present at the inauguration of his own statue; he would not even consent to receive the deputation who came to offer the official account of the ceremony. He wished everything to take place apart from him; he left all the pleasure and enjoyment of the occasion to her, in presence of that statue, lofty, white, and mute, which in reality absorbed the gaze of all, and was the object of universal adulation. She did but receive the homage that he rejected; she heard the speeches only that she might repeat them to him, or rather, because

it was known that he would hear them behind the scenes; she existed only because he willed her "to be"; if for one moment he ceased to support her, she must vanish and be sought for in vain; as a word from his lips had sufficed to procure sovereign honours for her, so his silence would suffice to deprive her of them.

After that ever-memorable Paris Coronation, after the sacred unction and the placing of the crown upon her brow, the Emperor ascended a second throne, but he did not place Joséphine by his side; he had done enough; nobody was surprised, nobody even remarked the fact; perhaps not even Joséphine herself. It is of pure courtesy that she is styled Empress and Queen, for, by right, she was not Queen of Italy. She had no part in the audience at which the Council offered the crown of the Lombard Kings to Napoleon; she was not present at the memorable sitting of the Senate when the Emperor proclaimed his acceptance of it. True, she was included in the journey to Italy, she was attended by a numerous suite, at Milan she was assigned an Italian Household in which the noblest of the Milanese ladies figured; true, she had the cortège customary on such occasions at the ceremonies, but it was a page who carried her train, and the only one of the Emperor's sisters who was present at the Coronation, Elisa, now Princess of Piombino, walked before her, accompanied, like her, by her Lady-in-Waiting, and by her Ladies. The Cardinal Archbishop of Milan who received her at the door of the church did not give her holy water, as Cardinal Cambacérès had done. She was conducted under a dais, but it was to a tribune prepared in the choir, where she was included among a number of people. No insignia on her person or near her marked her royalty, nothing in her attire made allusion to it. And yet the insignia of France are not the insignia of Italy, and the French colours are not those of Italy. Joséphine attended the coronation of Napoleon merely as an invited personage of distinction, but without taking part in any ceremony.

It is true that she also visited San Ambrosio when the Emperor went

to return thanks to the patron saint of the city, but was not this duty, one of obligation for Napoleon, supererogatory for Joséphine?

In commanding that his wife should be crowned, Napoleon acted upon impulse; afterwards, he reflected, and he resolved to treat the Paris coronation as an incident of no consequence. Previously, the Empress had no allotted place in political ceremonies; afterwards, it should be just the same; she was to figure no more with the Emperor in the public solemnities where she might most reasonably have been expected to appear. On the great occasion of the Te Deum on the 15th of August, 1807, she was neither in the Emperor's carriage nor even in his procession: she set out on her own account simply with an escort of the Garde; she was received by the Masters of Ceremonies only; she had not the honours of the dais; and she was seated in the same tribune with her mother-in-law and Napoleon's sisters.

* * *

The Coronation then was an affair of chance, only an incident; and after the Coronation, Joséphine did not count in the great national solemnities; but at least the first place was hers in the Court, in what may be called the family ceremonies, baptisms and marriages, and especially at fêtes, concerts, balls, ballets, theatrical performances, Drawing-rooms, and the imperial banquets and card parties. From henceforth we have to contemplate her in those scenes.

Within this period only one solemn baptism took place, that of the second son of Hortense and Louis, Prince Napoleon-Louis. Joséphine had of course been godmother a number of times; it was, indeed, customary that she should not act in that capacity unless the Emperor was sponsor also; but the ceremonies were performed incognito in the Palace chapel, frequently by proxy, and there was nothing to cause remark except the valuable presents made by the godfather. But in this case Napoleon's own family, and his dynasty, were in question, and the baptism of the

child, which was celebrated by the Pope, was invested with the character of an affirmation of both. Justly, and perhaps with this object in view, Joséphine's part in the ceremony was not the leading one : she and Napoleon had been sponsors for the eldest son of Hortense, Prince Napoleon-Charles ; now the godmother, Napoleon being godfather, was Madame Bonaparte, Madame, mother of His Majesty the Emperor. Thus, the honours were for her, but Joséphine was very willing that it should be so : this baptism set the seal to reconciliation, affirmed the future greatness of her grandsons, and consolidated her own fortune. It was in her apartment at Saint-Cloud that the first part of the ceremony took place, and it was she who received Madame and the Emperor in the blue Salon where the infant's bed was placed. She then preceded them, having her own special cortège, composed of her whole Household, her escort of two superior officers of the Garde, and in the great gallery, which was transformed into a chapel, although her chair was ranged with those of the godfather and godmother, she had not a prie-Dieu. After the ceremony ; she resumed her rank, presided with the Emperor at the imperial table, was present with him at the performance of *Athalie*, and held the Drawing-room.

From that date until the divorce, no other solemn baptism took place. Napoleon and Joséphine promised to name a great number of children, but the Emperor always put off the ceremony ; and in fact it was not performed until November, 1810, when all the children, boys and girls together, were baptised at Fontainebleau : but there was another godmother, —there was another Court. All the honours which his brother had received were withheld from the third son of Hortense,—the explanation being simply, that the Emperor was expecting an heir.

A detail worthy of notice is that the daughters of the grandees of the Empire whom Marie-Louise held at the font on the 4th of November, 1810, were all named Joséphine.

Marriages were more frequent : two were celebrated at the Tuileries



THE CORONATION

Picture by Louis David.



with full official State, and the marriage of Eugene was celebrated at Munich. No others ; for the marriage of Mademoiselle Stephanie Tascher with Prince d'Arenberg took place at Hortense's hôtel in the Rue Cerutti, and that of Mademoiselle Murat with Prince Hohenzollern at the Élysée, Caroline's abode. These were not Court fêtes, but were conducted in a private manner, although by sovereign grace the Emperor had granted the fiancées the title of princess for a day. But the two important marriages were respectively that of Stéphanie Napoleon, the Emperor's adopted daughter, with the Hereditary Prince of Baden, and that of Jérôme Napoleon with the Princess of Wurtemberg.

By a succession of strange and unexpected events Joséphine's niece by marriage, the daughter of Comte Claude de Beauharnais and Mademoiselle de Lezay-Marnesia—who had been deserted by her father, an émigré, at the Convent of Panthemont, taken charge of and brought to Perigord, their country, by two nuns belonging to the Convent, and reduced to receiving alms from an Englishwoman, a friend of her mother—had been brought back to Paris, almost by force, at the end of Year XII., upon the express order of the Emperor, who was indignant at Joséphine's leaving her niece to charity. She was placed at Madame Campan's school on the same conditions as several other young girls in whom the Empress took an interest : Mesdemoiselles de Bourjolly, Sainte-Catherine, de Castellane, Godt and Ferrari. She was not remarkable in any way, and had no prospect of any other destiny than theirs when, at the beginning of 1806, the Emperor, having made Eugène marry the Princess of Bavaria who was betrothed to the Prince of Baden, had to provide for the latter, and having no marriageable girl in his own family, fell back upon Joséphine's. He thought of Stéphanie Tascher ; but Joséphine objected, proposed Stéphanie de Beauharnais, and the thing was done.

On his return to Paris, Napoleon had Stéphanie installed at the Tuileries : he had hardly seen anything of her until then, and immediately took a fancy to her ; she amused him. This mere girl of seventeen, with her golden hair, blue eyes, slim figure and nymph-like carriage, with the childish ways

that she rather exaggerated than repressed, the frank manner, of which a year of the Campan school had failed to cure her, pleased him all the more because she was not intimidated by his presence, because she treated him almost with familiarity, and seemed so natural and simple. It did not last long : Stéphanie came to the Tuileries at the beginning of February ; on the 17th the marriage treaty was signed ; on the 2nd of March the Prince of Baden arrived ; on the 3rd the adoption of Stéphanie became an official act and the Emperor informed the Senate of it by a message. The Emperor only adopted, by a political act contrary to articles 343 and 344 of the Code, but nobody made objections. Joséphine, although she did not appear, had every reason to be satisfied with the dignity conferred on her niece, and she took to playing mother with a good grace.

On the 7th of April, at eight o'clock in the evening, everything was arranged in the Galerie de Diane for the first ceremonies : benches for the ladies of the Court were placed along all its length, with space behind for the men, who stood. At the back, facing the door of the Emperor's Salon, was an estrade under a dais ; two chairs of state on the estrade were placed in front of a table covered with a rich cloth, on this was an inkstand ; below the estrade on the right there was a chair of state for Madame Mère and folding-seats for the princes ; on the left a chair of state for the Queen of Naples and folding-seats for the princesses and the Prince of Bavaria. The Empress made her entry in procession, preceded by her pages, the Chamberlain on duty, the commissioners from Baden, the Prince of Bavaria, the Prince of Baden, and all the princesses of the family, and followed by her Lady of the Bedchamber, and the Ladies on duty. Then came the Emperor's procession, Stéphanie walking immediately before him.

After the reading of the contract, the Secretary of State presented the pen to the Emperor and Empress who signed it, remaining seated and not leaving their places ; the betrothed pair approached them, and Stéphanie made a low curtsey to Their Majesties, who responded by a sign of approbation. Then the civil marriage was celebrated by the Prince High Chancellor of the Empire, and the ceremony of affiancing by the Cardinal Legate.

And always reverence was made to Joséphine. Again on the morrow Josephine had all the honours in that brilliant cortège which came forth from the Great Apartments at eight o'clock in the evening, was saluted by the band whose music timed its march, took its way by the great staircase, the great vestibule and the open portico hung with tapestries from the Garde-Meuble, and entered the chapel by the perron which gave the public access to it on Sundays.

Ushers with silver maces, heralds-at-arms newly attired for the occasion, masters of ceremonies and their assistants, the Prince of Baden's officers, those of the princesses, the Empress, the witnesses for Baden, the Prince of Bavaria ; all this was nothing : for on came the princesses and the queens clad, apparently, in precious stones; turquoises, diamonds, rubies ; and, led by the Prince of Baden, the Empress, in a robe entirely covered with gold embroidery in different tints, her crown on her head, a million's worth of pearls on her neck. The Ladies-in-Waiting and of the Bedchamber, the twenty-four Ladies of the Palace and the twenty Ladies of the suite of the princesses crowded behind the page who carried her train. What a dazzling sight was this "flying squadron," so young, so bright, so sparkling, spangled with diamonds, tuneful with the tinkling of gold and silver, and the soft rustling of silk and velvet, perfumed by the breath of the flowers that mingled with the diamonds in their hair, the garlands that adorned their gowns, and the bouquet—just presented by the Prince of Baden in the Salle du Trône—carried in each lady's hand.

The procession had a special feature which added to its brilliant effect : not only was the entire palace illuminated, but twenty-four pages walked two by two at either side of the cortège carrying torches of yellow wax.

What stage-manager of genius was it who hit on such a contrast ? After these women, all dressed in fresh, light, luminous tones, came a group of men, the Prince's officers, and the Emperor's, in coats of full colours, red, light-blue, green, dark-blue and silver : and after them, in an ascending scale, the great officers of the Empire, Ministers, Marshals, Colonel-Generals, the great officers of the Crown, the princes; and lastly,

the Emperor in Spanish costume, leading the bride in her gown of white tulle starred with silver, ornamented from the bodice-edge to the hem with diamond wheat-ears and bouquets of orange-blossom, with a train of silver gauze which "might be the train of Peau d'Ane."

At the door of the chapel the Cardinal-célébrant presented holy water to the Empress, her throne was similar to the Emperor's, the bride made the prescribed 'reverences' to her as to him, and on their leaving the chapel, in the new order of procession in which the Prince of Baden and his wife walked together, Joséphine was by Napoleon's side.

All was bright and sparkling at the façades of the Palace and in the gardens, where 19,799 francs had been spent on lanterns and coloured glass. At nine o'clock the windows of the Salle des Maréchaux were opened, and Their Majesties appeared on the balcony to witness the display of fireworks by Ruggieri on the Place de la Concorde. Those fireworks cost 19,975 francs, and the smoke, blown about by the west wind which drove it down upon the palace, was all that the spectators beheld. They withdrew; then came a 'grand cercle,' concert and ballet in the Salle des Maréchaux, a supper for two hundred ladies in the Galerie de Diane; and after the company had been dismissed, "Their Majesties according to custom reconducted the two spouses, with a suite of forty persons designated by them."

At Jérôme's marriage, which took place in the following year, on the 22nd of August, 1807, Joséphine no longer acted as mother, but she gained a supplementary honour. Hitherto, the Queen of Naples, since her royalty, had had 'the fauteuil.' This privilege was withdrawn by a decision of that day's date. "It is only by tolerance and for the journey ('voyage') alone that she is still granted it, and, for the future, that princess shall be treated according to the rank which is rightly hers." As for Madame, she was left the fauteuil, but without an acknowledgment that she had a right to it, and with the firm intention that it should be withdrawn: thenceforth the Empress only was to have that prerogative.

Otherwise, the ceremonial was the same as for Stéphanie, with the sole exception that Jérôme, after he had saluted Their Majesties, made

a 'reverence' to Madame (his mother) signifying that he asked her consent

After the marriage came entertainments as in the former case, but the 'Imperial banquet' took place previously.

The latter was a ceremony of rare occurrence, although it was supposed at the outset of the Empire that it would pass into an institution and would replace the 'grand couvert' of the Kings of France. At the Coronation fêtes there were two Imperial banquets in succession, at the Tuileries and at the Hôtel de Ville; there was one in 1807 at which only a few members of the Family were present and no others afterwards, except those of the 3rd and 4th of December, 1809, at the Tuileries and the Hôtel de Ville; the most memorable, perhaps, for there Napoleon and Joséphine entertained the Kings of Saxony, Holland, Westphalia, and Naples, without reckoning Madame Mère and the Duchess of Guastalla.

In all, then, five imperial banquets took place, but their number is of little import; the banquet itself was one of the institutions characteristic of the new régime, and in it we find that a new and important part of the special honours was assigned to the Empress.

At the outset the Emperor no doubt intended to imitate the inaugural banquets of the Emperors of Germany rather than the 'grand couvert' of the Bourbon Kings; then the Carlovingian forms, or those taken as such, retired by degrees before the Bourbon etiquette; and finally the rules adopted by the last Kings of France "when they ate in public" were restored. At the first banquet, the Emperor was displeased because Talleyrand, Grand Chamberlain, had substituted the word 'supper,' which was old Court style, for the word 'dinner' in the invitations, and had dated them according to the Gregorian instead of the Republican Calendar. At the last banquet, the Grand Master of Ceremonies had the details of the reception of the King and Queen at the Hôtel de Ville in December, 1782, furnished to him by a former employé of the City of Paris: he copied this ceremonial, and if he modified it by agreement with the Grand Chamberlain, it was by the suppression of the prerogatives formely granted to the Prevôt des

Marchands, the City Corps and the Governor of Paris, to the advantage of the Court people.

At the banquets of Year XIII., not royal or princely personages only were present, as in 1809 ; nor was seeing the Emperor eat the only treat provided for the company; neither were they invited merely that they might sit down, or file off at a distance from the table of the sovereigns. This latter rise of the tide of etiquette, this climax of pretension, was in fact the entire history of the Empire on the lesser scale.

For the banquet of the 14th Frimaire, Year XIII. (5th of December, 1804) the evening of the Distribution of the Eagles, the Empress's table was placed on an estrade and under a dais in the centre of the Galerie de Diane. The table was oblong : the Emperor, the Empress and the Pope were placed on the long side, the Pope on Joséphine's left, the Emperor on her right, the Elector of Ratisbon at the bend of the table. The Marshal Colonel-General of the Garde stood behind the Emperor ; on the right, a little forward, stood the Grand Marshal and the First Prefect of the Palace ; on the same line, to the left, the Grand Master of Ceremonies and a Master. The pages served. This table was not the only one in the Gallery : on the right and left four other tables were set ; one for the princes and princesses, one for the members of the diplomatic body, one for the Ministers and the great officers of the Empire, one for the Ladies and officers of Their Majesties, the princes, and the princesses. These tables were attended by the livery servants. During the banquet there was no passage through the Gallery.

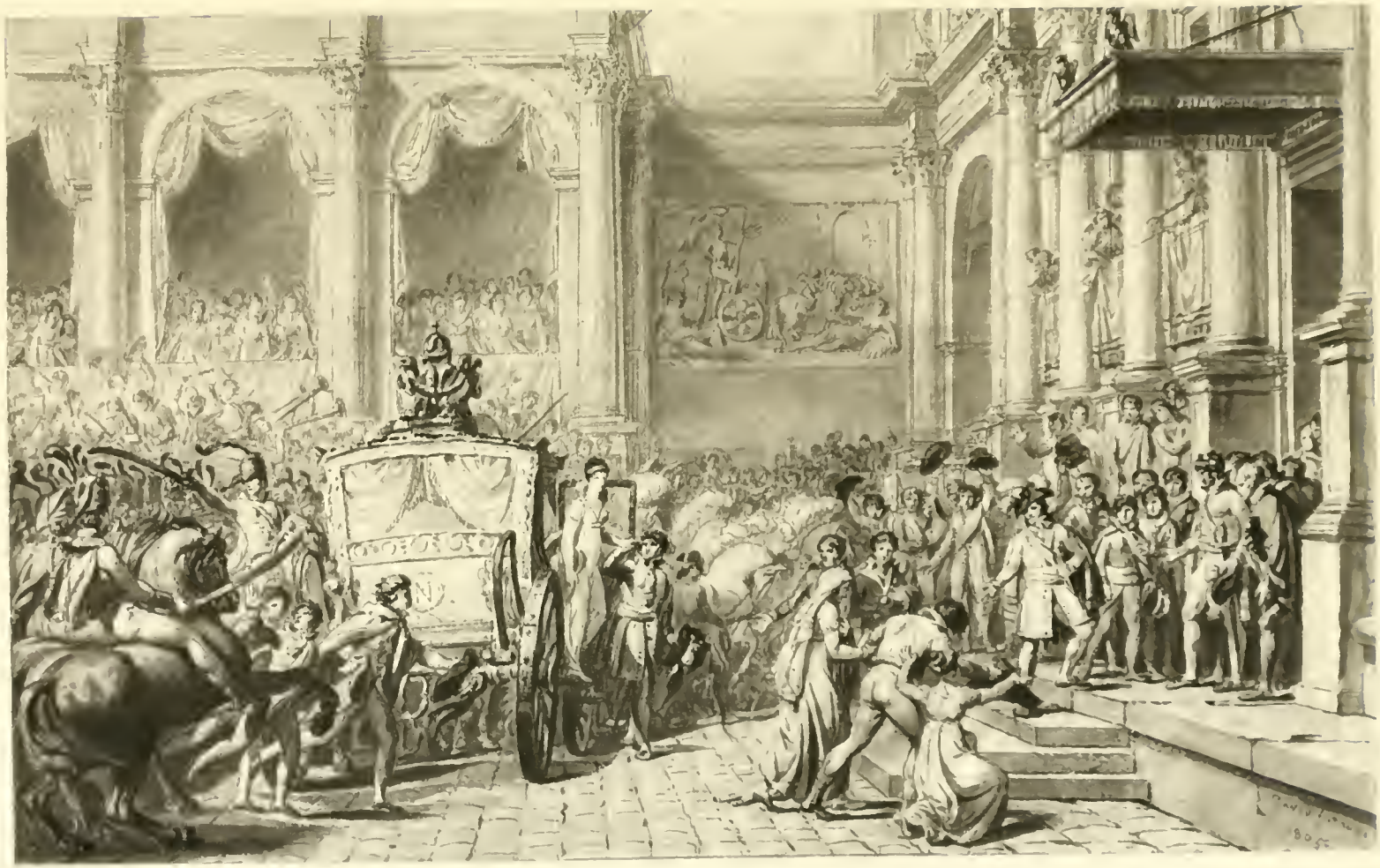
At the fête of the Hôtel de Ville the ceremonial was the same, save that the persons invited, who had dined before the arrival of the Emperor, passed into the Salle des Fêtes. The imperial table was placed in the centre on an estrade under a dais ; the Emperor and Empress only took their places ; the great officers of the Crown surrounded them, the pages served. In the same Salle a table of fourteen covers was laid for the princes and princesses, a table of thirty-five covers for the great officers of the Empire ; in the two adjacent Salles, a table of forty-two covers for the officers and ladies of the



THE ARRIVAL OF THEIR MAJESTIES AT THE HOTEL DE VILLE

Drawing by Louis David

Musée du Louvre



Household, was set, and also a table of twenty-seven covers for the officers and ladies of the princely Households.

From the date of this fête, the etiquette received a number of additional clauses. The silver plate presented by the City of Paris to the Emperor include four pieces which were, so to speak, emblems of sovereignty, for the use of them had been reserved to the sovereign from time immemorial; these were two 'nefs' and two 'cadenas.'

The 'nef' is a piece of plate fashioned like a ship, to represent, it is said, the arms of the City of Paris, and it is the custom of the City to present a nef to each new King when he comes, after his Coronation, to dine at the Hôtel de Ville. The nef is of etiquette since the time of Charles V at latest, and, "then, when the King was at table, contained his 'essai,' his spoon, his knife and his fork." It also contained condiments, spices, and what were called 'épreuves,' that is to say fragments of unicorn's horn or serpents' tongues with which the articles of food were tested for fear of poison. The 'essai' was a small cup, richly wrought, and it served also for the tasting of the beverages by a trustworthy gentleman in attendance.

In the sixteenth century, when the 'cadenas' came into the ceremonial, the napkins which the King was to use during the repast were placed in the nef, between two scented cushions; but this nef, having become the essential attribute of royalty, especially from the time of Louis XIV., was none the less richly adorned. The designs for the nef presented to Louis XIV., which was modelled by Magnier and executed by Jean Gravet, are preserved—the gold cost eighty thousand livres without reckoning the precious stones—also those for the nef presented to Louis XV., composed by Meissonnier, one of that great artist's masterpieces.

When the King supped in public the nef was placed on one end of the royal table; otherwise it was placed upon the sideboard which was called the 'table in readiness' (du prêt); there the gentleman server and the chief cupbearer made 'essai' of the bread, salt, napkins, spoon, fork, knife, and toothpicks, for the use of the King. "In whatever place

the nef was deposited, all the persons who passed before it, even the princesses, were bound to salute it in the same manner as the King's bed on passing through His Majesty's chamber."

The cadenas, which was not reserved for royal persons, but had been usurped on their own account as a distinction by the princes, and even the dukes and peers, was a sort of tray in silver-gilt or in gold. On this the bread, fork, spoon, knife, salt-cellar, pepper-caster and spice-box were placed after they had been taken out of the nef, and the King's napkin, pleated and folded in small squares, was laid on top of all.

The nef presented to the Emperor by the City of Paris, was, like the whole service, in silver-gilt. According to custom, it was in the form of a ship, supported by two figures representing rivers, back-to-back, seated on a socle upheld by four claws. On this socle were two bas-reliefs, one representing the Coronation, the other the Prefect and the Mayors offering their present to the Emperor; twelve figures in relief—the twelve municipalities of Paris—stood, divided by antique trophies, around the poop-cabin. A wolf's head adorned the prow where the figure of Victory presided, while on the poop sat Justice and Prudence holding the helm with one hand and with the other supporting the imperial crown above the eagle's outspread wings.

The nef presented to the Empress formed a companion-piece. The bas-reliefs represented Minerva giving encouragement to artists, and Beneficence bringing consolation to the poor; at the prow was the figure of Beneficence, at the poop the three Graces.

The cadenas were two plaques with bees carved in lozenges in relief; the imperial arms in the centre, crowns, foliage and antique flags at the sides. At one of the extremities was a box with three compartments (salt, pepper and spice), adorned with bas-reliefs representing Renown crowning the Emperor's monogram, or Zephyrs swinging Cupid on a garland of flowers. On the cover of one was the imperial crown between two helmets; on that of the other the same crown between two clusters of roses.

In order that these presents might be utilised in a manner conformable

to etiquette, but not suggestive of a return to the forms of the old regime, articles which it was very difficult to draw up had to be introduced into the ceremonial: it was decreed that the napkins only should be placed in the nefs; that on Their Majesties' eating in public, the Emperor being placed to the right, the Empress to the left, the Emperor's nef and cadenas were to be set down to the right of his cover, the Empress's nef and cadenas to the left of hers. On the arrival of Their Majesties at the table, the Grand Chamberlain was to offer the Emperor the silver basin for finger-washing, the Grand Equerry was to offer him the fauteuil, and the Grand Marshal to present a napkin taken from the nef. The First Prefect of the Palace, and the Empress's First Equerry and First Chamberlain respectively, were to fulfil the same offices for her.

At the 'petit couvert,' or private dinner in the State Apartments, the nefs were to be placed on dessert tables and within Their Majesties' reach.

The latter custom prevailed, even at the most ceremonious imperial banquets; the table being set horseshoe shape, the nefs were placed on two dessert tables at the two corners. Thus it was in 1807 and 1809.

After he had seriously pondered for some time over the question of re-establishing the 'Grand Couvert' of the Kings in current and habitual fashion, Napoleon ended by almost renouncing even the imperial banquets. When he recurred to this subject afterwards, being unwilling to acknowledge that his chief motive was the constraint such a rivival would have inflicted upon himself, he said: "perhaps it is true that the circumstances of the time ought to have limited that ceremonial to the Prince Imperial, and only to the period of his youth, for he was the child of the whole nation; he should have lived thenceforth in the hearts and been present to the eyes of all."

In the whole of Napoleon's reign only one great ball, not exclusively reserved for persons of the Court and persons 'presented,' was given, a ball of the kind that was officially repeated in the respective reigns of Louis-Philippe and Napoleon III. From 1810 there were many other balls, but the company was divided into the actors, who belonged to the

Court, and the spectators, who belonged to the City : the 'bourgeoises' were invited to look on while the great ladies danced ; they entered and went out by different doors, they had not a right to the same salons, the same costumes or the same supper, and they had to go out in the rain in thin shoes and with bare shoulders to seek their carriages on the Carrousel, none being allowed to enter the courtyard of an imperial residence. In 1814, the City ladies of Paris showed how they resented this.

In 1806, owing no doubt to Joséphine, whose graciousness and good breeding enabled her, on occasion, to check the excessive zeal of the fanatics for etiquette, such a point of exclusiveness had not been reached; the company was not divided into two categories. If the Court danced, it was not a favour to be invited to look on at its performance ; if there were 'cercle', concert, or supper, the etiquette was the same for all ; only the Court people were present, the City had nothing to do with it and heard of it only through the gazettes. But, when these same City people were admitted to a ball, they were not wounded by humiliations apparently invented expressly to exasperate them.

The ball given on the 20th of April, 1806, a very few days after the marriage of Stéphanie de Beauharnais, was a 'return' courtesy on the part of the Emperor for the ball given to him after the Coronation. The Italian tour and the two campaigns of Year XIV. had prevented this from being done at an earlier date. The City formed a crowd of itself, two thousand five hundred persons, and the 'Grands Appartements' at the Tuileries were laid out after such a fashion that, in order to reserve the rooms required for the Emperor and his suite and to avoid provisional constructions which would have spoiled the façades, two balls were necessary instead of one, two balls exactly alike ; one in the Galerie de Diane, accessible by the staircase of the Pavillon de Flore ; the other in the Salle des Maréchaux, by way of the great vestibule. The guests invited to the Pavillon de Flore were first to see a quadrille danced by the Princess Caroline as leader of thirty-two women and as many men, one-fourth being officers ; they were then to dance as many 'contredanses' as they

desired; and afterwards they were to sup in the halls of the Pavillon de Flore. The guests invited to the Salle des Maréchaux were to witness a quadrille led by the Princess Louis, and to sup in the Salle du Conseil d'État; they would have to come down a staircase, cross the great vestibule, and ascend to another floor; but there was nothing else to be done, short of giving up the 'Grands Appartements,' which were, as we know, all in line. The salons preceding the Salle du Trône had to be kept for the Court and the Emperor's cortège, also the Salle du Trône itself; it was there that specially distinguished guests were to assemble, awaiting Their Majesties, who could thus, without being incommoded by the crowd, honour the two balls by their presence. When the Emperor and Empress should have left the Tuileries for Saint-Cloud, all were at liberty to go from one ball to the other; it was announced that "at eleven o'clock and not before, the ushers will leave all the doors open."

The same dress for both balls: ladies to wear trained 'sheath' gowns of Lyons stuff,—only those who proposed to dance might appear in short gowns; men in 'dress' coats, or coats embroidered at Lyons, or of cloth and spring stuffs not embroidered. The orchestra was similarly composed for both the balls; Julien, the mulatto, the fashionable violin-player, had charge of it, and was paid 2,862 francs for his trouble. He played contredanses only—there was no waltzing in the presence of the Emperor—but he played like a master. For each 'française' he had six or eight different 'motifs' executed, varying the cadence each time; he began *pianissimo*, and continued *crescendo* with consummate skill. One of his musicians announced each figure to be danced. Julien had secured Joséphine's patronage long before; she would have no other leader of the band at her small balls, but then he was paid only four louis (96 francs) and, on grand days, ten (240 francs).

A similar supper for the two balls; and the Emperor treated his guests well. There were four kinds of soup, at a cost of six hundred francs, one hundred large dishes, at a louis each; namely, sixteen hams, sixteen daubes, sixteen pâtés, sixteen loins of veal, nine dishes of Savoy biscuits,

as many of brioches, babas and Compiègne cakes; sixty entrées served on twelve dishes, at twelve francs each; these were capons in rice, fricassée of chicken in jelly, chicken mayonnaise, salmi of young partridge, both hot and cold, and salads of the same; fifty dishes of roast meats at twelve francs (fifteen of each sort), pullets, turkey-poults and campines (small pullets). There were also two hundred entremets at six francs, one hundred of mixed pastry, and (by twenty-fives) blanc-mangers, lemon jelly, orange jelly, and creams.

The offices supplied seventy-two plates of bonbons at five francs, as many of preserves at four francs, one hundred plates of light cakes at four francs, one hundred plates of oranges, and one hundred plates of pears and apples at five francs. Three thousand ices were served, and orangeade, lemonade, orgeat and punch, at a cost of one thousand francs. It was reckoned that the wine required would be one thousand bottles of Beaune at two francs, one hundred bottles of Bordeaux, as many of Champagne and dessert wine, and twenty bottles of rum. The cost of the whole was 14,688 francs. In this menu there was nothing very choice, neither fish nor hot entremets, nor any of those rare delicacies which were served at the Élysée in the time of Caroline Murat. But there is a difference between twelve hundred guests and three thousand: now, including Court people of all ranks, the number entertained by the Emperor was quite three thousand.

The quadrilles were very successful; in the Princess Caroline's the dancers of both sexes, in Spanish costumes, formed groups which were distinguished by different coloured scarfs. The dresses were white: sapphires and turquoises were worn with those adorned with blue satin, rubies with red, emeralds with green, diamonds with white. The men wore white velvet coats, each with a scarf to match the colour of the trimming of his partner's dress, and velvet toques with white feathers. Princess Louis arranged her quadrille differently; satin and coloured stones were replaced by flowers, and every woman wore diamond wheat-ears in her head-dress. The costumes of the men, furnished by Sandoz the tailor, cost 518 francs



THE EMPRESS IN COURT DRESS

Drawing by Isabey



each; a large sum for the officers selected for the dance; and, by some misunderstanding, they narrowly escaped having to find the money out of their pay. They sent on the bill which was presented to them to their chief, Bessières; he sent it back to the Grand Marshal who transferred it to the Grand Chamberlain; and it was not paid until the 25th of May, 1808, on an order proceeding directly from the Emperor.

The entire fête occupied exactly sixty minutes of Their Majesties' time. By nine o'clock all the guests had arrived, and were divided into three groups,—Salle des Maréchaux, Galerie de Diane, Salle du Trône and Grands Appartements. The Emperor, who had come with the Empress from his Appartement d'honneur into the Grands Appartements, remained there for a short time and received the Court people. At half past nine, accompanied by the Empress, and followed by all the company assembled, forming his cortège, he proceeded, by way of the Salle du Trône and Grand Cabinet, to the Galerie de Diane. He made the tour of the gallery, speaking, it is said, to all the women and most of the men; he then took his seat on the throne that had been prepared for him; the Empress was by his side and the Court behind him, and the Princess Caroline's quadrille was danced. This over, he re-entered the Grands Appartements, passed through them to the Salle des Gardes, entered the Salle des Maréchaux, made the tour of it, seated himself, looked on while Princess Louis' quadrille was danced, and at half-past ten got into his carriage and started for Saint-Cloud.

This progress through the ballrooms before the dancing began, was a triumph for Joséphine at the Hôtel de Ville, as at the Tuileries. Even if she did not speak to the people whom she knew best, she would give them a smile, a nod of the head, or it might be only a look which won the heart; to each of the women, although unknown to her, she would say something complimentary which touched her nearly, fitting in with her special vanity; she would let fall a few words in passing, and thenceforth the husband and wife would pride themselves on those words. She was gifted with that marvellous memory for feminine

faces which Napoleon applied to his soldiers ; she put the right name to every figure that had once passed before her ; every question she asked proved, not only a gracious intention, but a real remembrance, and bore an appearance of interest which flattered the vanity and even touched the feelings of the persons addressed. She knew the number of children, their names and ages if need were, the marriages, the deaths, the advancements of the family; she remembered all this in time, at the very moment it was wanted ; and it was all said, not like a lesson learned, but as the utterance of a kindly heart. She possessed in the superlative degree that quality, or defect, of well-bred women which enables them, when in company, to appear to entertain a genuine affection for the person who interests them least, and is merely a polite habit. But such politeness pleases, although it is known to be empty—just as actors allow themselves to be deceived by the applause they have purchased.

She excelled in the art of gliding over the great space of waxed floor along the front of the extended line of women. Their slow and graceful 'reverences' as she passed made a gentle rustling of satin and velvet, and a shimmer of precious stones ; and she acknowledged them by a smile, a bend of the head, a salute of the eyes, or the bust, according to the moment or the person, pausing for an instant, going on, pausing again, without fuss, untiringly, with an air of unflagging interest and continuous attention, never letting a sign appear of the weariness that she must have felt, the weariness of her questions, of her answers, of all that nothingness, so dull, so vulgar,—like life.

As she moved on that vast stage and under those thousands of eyes, Joséphine felt none of the embarrassment that made Napoleon awkward of attitude and gesture as it makes most sovereigns. In speaking, she had none of the shyness which in him took the form of rudeness ; every sentence that she uttered was amiable and saved from banality by the social knowledge and personal remembrance which gave it point, while he would put abrupt questions, such as : "What is your name ? What is your husband ? How many children ? " He could not vary his

themes, or recall faces; he did not wait for answers, and was apt to talk like a sub-lieutenant at times, because he thought to make himself agreeable by that means, and because, with all his genius, he did not understand that jesting has its limits; nor indeed was he capable of understanding or recognizing humour at all.

Therefore it was that a ball, however short the time he had to be present at it, must necessarily have been intolerable to him; he endured that misery at the Hôtel de Ville, on the rare occasions when he visited it,—twice in five years—because he thought to captivate the affections of Paris by doing so, but in his palace he avoided the infliction entirely. No doubt the unsuitability of the Tuileries had something to do with this; but etiquette, which became stricter every day, had more. He considered it as a departure from the customs of the kings his predecessors, to allow persons who had not been presented to pass through his apartments, to break through the barriers of the Ceremonial for them, and, even after he had left the Salle du Trône, to allow mere City ladies to enter it.

Logically, he was right; he could not admit two disciplines. After he had decreed that only certain dignities, functions, and grades were to give access to certain Salles, after he had formally made this a privilege and a high honour, he could not open every door on certain days, reverse all the orders, and tolerate the invasion of his palace by the shopkeepers of the Rue Saint-Denis, to please the people of Paris. From the moment that the City was invited, everybody had to be included; and the most influential persons there might not be the best bred, have the most elegant manners, and be fitted to adorn a ballroom. He had been annoyed by certain words, phrases, and attitudes; he gave his consent to the ball in 1806 with great reluctance; he refused it thenceforth. And in this did he not do well? The bourgeoisie has such strange ways of exhibiting its gratitude to the sovereigns who oftenest give it the chance of dancing, that it is preferable to economize the violins.

Thus then did Napoleon, as time went on, limit himself solely to the

society which he ordained for himself and for the Empress, that is to say to persons 'presented,' and the ceremony of presentation assumed increasing importance. Of course it was not, as it had been under the old Court régime, a question of quarterings,—that could not be; but for this very reason it was made a still more strict question of grades: to give a lady *the right* to be presented, it was necessary that her husband should occupy a post in the personal service of Their Majesties, the princes, or the princesses, that he should be an ambassador or minister at foreign courts, a general, a colonel, a president of an electoral college, or a district college, a member of a department electoral college, prefect, mayor of one of the thirty-six 'Bonnes Villes,' president or imperial procurator of the Courts of Appeal and Criminal Justice, or president of a Consistory. Other Frenchwomen might ask to be presented, but if they did not belong to the old régime and were not titled 'ci-devants,' their requests were very seldom granted. The foreign ambassadors or ministers were responsible for the foreign ladies, and the custom was established that only those who had been presented to the sovereign in their own country could be presented to the Empress.

The Grand Chamberlain received the Emperor's commands concerning the presentations requested, and addressed the following printed form of letter to a Lady of the Palace, of his own selection, who was to assist the new-comer at Court.

Le Grand Chambellan a l'honneur de
prévenir Madame
que Madame
sera présentée à S. M. l'Empereur et Roi
Dimanche prochain après la
messe au Palais
Le Grand Chambellan prie Madame
d'agréer ses respectueux hommages.

The lady, having been apprized, made her visit to the Lady-in-Waiting



MADAME GRASSINI PREMIERE CANTATRICE DE LA CHAMBRE
OF HIS MAJESTY THE EMPEROR AND KING

Picture by Madame Vigee-Lebrun

Musée de Russie



or to the Lady of the Palace who was to introduce her, and whose office it was to obtain information concerning her family and connections, so that if necessary the Empress might be instructed on those points.

On the appointed Sunday, after Mass, the lady, we will suppose, arrives, alone, dressed, according to the etiquette, in a gown of some rich French stuff, striped, embroidered, or brocaded with gold or silver, with a velvet train three ells long, trimmed with gold or silver lace. Her hair may be dressed as she pleases, but she must wear three beautiful long white feathers which fall on her neck and shoulders. Diamonds 'at discretion.'

The lady waits in the first salon until announced by a chamberlain; she passes through a second long salon before she reaches Her Majesty's presence chamber. There the Empress stands in front of the fireplace; she is surrounded by a circle of women. At the entrance door, first curtsey, a few steps farther on, second curtsey; again a few steps, third curtsey. The Empress bends her head slightly, approaches a little, puts a few questions, and very slowly resumes her place. Then must the lady retire, without turning her back but making similar curtseys at the same places: at the first, she trembles, at the second she entangles herself in the folds of her train, if she has not learned the supreme art of the dexterous kick that throws the folds back into place, and at the third, she would be very likely to fall if the chamberlain were not near to hold her up. It is still worse for the officers whose swords are quite as troublesome as a train, and who would rather be under the fire of a battery than the fire of those bright eyes; for, although the Empress has something kind to say to each, the looks and the gibes of the Ladies of the Palace contrast sharply with her kind words.

* * *

Presentation at Court, although it entitled the individual to be received at Court, gave no right to go there: the invited guests were all ladies who

had been presented; but a special list was made for Drawing-rooms, and printed notes were addressed to the favoured ones.

There were two sorts of Drawing-rooms or 'Cercles;' those of less importance were held in the Apartment of the Empress, on the ground-floor, and etiquette was less strictly observed. The invitations were made by the Lady-in-Waiting, and extended to less than one hundred persons, of whom some forty to forty-five belonged to the Family, or to the ordinary and extraordinary 'service,' and fifty 'presented,' men and women. No member of the diplomatic body; from this rule the Emperor never once departed. The company was therefore always the same; dignitaries, great officers, Court people, high functionaries and generals. Nothing from the world outside; no man of fashionable, intellectual, artistic, or social importance, if he were unconsecrated by a uniform or by rank in the hierarchy. On those days, the Empress placed herself at a card-table with some great dignitary, the women were seated, the men remained standing. The Emperor came down from his own Apartment, spoke to the women, who were all known to him, and after he had put a few sharp questions to each went to talk with some of the men whom he liked—no not to talk, but again to ask questions. Sometimes, he did not come down at all, after having commanded a 'cercle,' or he merely passed through the salons and went upstairs again to work.

In the Coronation year there was some dancing to Julien's band: invitations were then a little more liberal—not much. It must be borne in mind that these dignitaries, these great officers of the Empire were, with few exceptions, very young—from thirty to forty—and married to women younger still,—the age of the old ones was twenty-five.

In 1806 music was more frequent than dancing. The regular days were Wednesday and Saturday. It began at ten o'clock; very few instruments, only just those required for an accompaniment to the singing. Rigel, who had been in the expedition to Egypt played the harpsichord; Kreutzer, a protégé of Napoleon from 1797, and previously of Marie-Antoinette, played he violin; and Dalvimare, who had been formerly in the King's body-guard,

and had known the Beauharnais family in the high society to which his talents had gained him admittance before the Revolution, played the harp.

The Emperor had not yet recruited his company of singers; he had only one star, but she was of the first magnitude, and so completely eclipsed the others that the latter were dismissed. In 1806 we do not trace either Madame Strinasacchi, or Nozari, or Aliprandi, or Martinelli, or Crucciali: there is just Crescentini, and that is enough. It was at Vienna, where he heard this singer, that Napoleon had him engaged by Rémusat at an annual salary of thirty thousand francs, not counting gratuities ranging from six to ten thousand francs. But Crescentini was the most famous artist in all Italy, the only artist of that sort "whose voice nearly resembles a fine feminine organ and has a sweet and pleasing tone."

In 1806 the only musicians available for a concert programme, even in private, were those of the Chapel, who were indeed not to be disdained, for they were the 'first subjects' of the Imperial Academy of Music,—Lays, Roland, Nourrit, Charles, Albert Bonnet, and Madame Branchu. Martin, the most popular barytone at the Opéra-Comique, shared the place of first singer with Lays, and Napoleon preferred these two. But, when an artist in high repute came to Paris, he had to be heard first at the Tuileries. This was done in the case of Catalani. After she had sung, the Emperor approached her.

"Where are you going to, Madame?" he asked her.

"To London, Sire."

"You must remain in Paris. You shall be well paid, and your talents will be better appreciated. You shall have one hundred thousand francs a year, and two months' leave. That is settled, Madame."

Catalani did not reply, but a few days afterwards she left Paris secretly for Morlaix, where she embarked. Nevertheless, she had no reason to complain of the Emperor. She received 6,000 francs in money and an annuity of 1,200 francs for two performances; the Opera House was placed at her disposal for two concerts, the Emperor paying 3,600 francs for his box, and, the price of the balcony seats being 30, and the orchestra

and pit stalls 18, the receipts came to 49,000 francs. In two months Catalani carried off one hundred thousand francs from Paris, but instead of money, she desired to have a jewel bearing the coveted N as a personal decoration from the Emperor, and this she did not obtain. She consoled herself, however, by the gain of 240,000 francs for one season in London. In 1806 other Italians, birds of passage, appeared at the private concerts. The men were Tarulli and Barilli; the women were Mesdames Canavassi, Barilli, and Ferlendis, but, although these singers were well paid, they were nothing in comparison with Catalani; 2,400 francs to Canavassi, 2,200 to Barilli, 1,400 to Ferlendis, and for the small fry, such as Mademoiselle Salucci, the pay was so low as one hundred francs.

The Emperor had carried off Crescentini from Vienna. After Jena he brought back Brizzi, a first tenor, Paër, a composer, and Madame Paër, a prima donna. Paër was actually at the time Chapel-Master to the King of Saxony; his wife, Françoise Riccardi, was first female singer and Brizzi was first tenor. Napoleon had heard them in Paër's *Achilles*, and had formed so high an estimate of the talent of all three that he commanded the Grand Chamberlain to engage them at any cost. Paër was appointed 'Compositeur de la Chambre' with an annual salary of 28,000 francs *for life*, a gratuity of 12,000 francs secured by contract, a carriage and an apartment; for each new work produced by him at the Tuileries he received a box with the Imperial initial, containing notes for 10,000 francs. In certain years, his supplementary gratuities amounted to 50,000 francs.

Madame Paër had 30,000 francs a year, and Brizzi 28,000.

Finally, in 1807, the 'Musique de la Chambre' was regularly constituted by the engagement of Joséphine Grassini, at an annual salary of 36,000 francs; she was the singer whom Napoleon had heard at Milan in 1797, whom he had again seen there in 1800, when he induced her to come to Paris, but could not make her stay. Grassini received gratuities which amounted in certain years to 22,000 francs exclusive of her salary: she had four months' leave, and the Opera House for a concert or a performance for her benefit every winter. With such elements it may safely

be asserted that the concerts given by the Empress from 1807 to 1809, surpassed all that had ever been imagined hitherto in any Court whatsoever. No sovereign had ever spent so much on his private orchestra as Napoleon; no conqueror had ever grouped such singers together for his own personal pleasure, and indeed, in his capacity of impresario, he had been obliged to do a good deal of both fighting and travelling in order to bring his 'troupe' to perfection. Otherwise, he was not exacting; the concert never lasted more than an hour and it was almost entirely vocal.

Immediately after the concert supper was served in the great dining-room on the ground-floor: the tables were set according to the number of ladies invited; at the Empress's table a fauteuil was placed for the Emperor—who never occupied it—and chairs for the ladies so privileged. The Empress was served by two pages, the ladies by the butlers and the 'valets de chambre d'appartement.' When the Emperor was there, he would go from one to another and would say a great many sharp things, trying to seem at ease. The men as usual, were not given seats, and a buffet was laid for them. After supper the company returned to the salons; the Empress again passed some time in talking and did not retire until one o'clock a.m.

At the Drawing-rooms held in the Grands Appartements etiquette was carried to its highest pitch; and even then Napoleon sometimes considered it not strict enough and guarded against omissions by a special order. Great Drawing-rooms were frequent enough; every Monday in the winter in 1806; afterwards not so often, but the ceremonial was unchanged.

A chamberlain had charge of the issuing of invitations; he kept a list up to date of all the persons who might be admitted to the Court entertainments, that is to say a list of persons who had been *presented*. That list, inspected and approved by the Emperor himself, was portioned out so that all those inscribed on it were invited in succession. None were invited to all the receptions, for the whole season, except the princesses, the Empress's ladies, and the wives of certain great officers of the Crown. All the others received a note for a day indicated. If His Majesty wore his

'costume'—that is to say the 'little dress' of the Coronation—the invitations made mention of it; then the men came in the full-dress of their office and the women in full-dress and trains. Instead of this, however, from 1806, the men frequently wore coats 'à la Française,' in embroidered silk or velvet of light colour, with the Court sword at the side; but, whatever their costume, each wore on his coat the decoration of his grade in the Legion—and that decoration had to be of the regulation pattern: the cross might not be smaller than the regimental size, and the ribbon might not be merely passed through the button-hole.

For the women, trains were of obligation on great days only, but they wore the chérusque always. According to etiquette, their gowns were not to have fringe or embroidery except at the edge, and the embroidery —of any design they pleased—was not to exceed a decimeter in width; but, in reality, provided that the dress was of the prescribed shape, all kinds of embroidery and every colour passed unchallenged—except black. No one might appear before Their Majesties in mourning without a special authorization. On the other hand, if there were a Court mourning, all were obliged to conform to the instructions of the Grand Master: for a queen, even a queen-dowager, the mourning was for fifteen days, in black silk, and eight days in half-mourning or white; diamonds might be worn, but no coloured stones.

The Chamberlain, having received the Emperor's commands respecting the number of persons to be informed—*invited* was proscribed by the Ceremonial—caused letters to be printed in a form which varied only according to the object and place of the assembly:

M.

Le Grand-Chambellan, d'après les ordres de
S. M. l'Empereur, a l'honneur de vous prévenir
qu'il y aura cercle à la Cour, au palais de
le *à*

The paper and print were common, there was nothing elegant or pretty



STAIRCASE OF THE CONSEIL D'ETAT

Sketch for the *Journal des Monuments de Paris* dedicated to the Emperor Alexander I

by Percier and Fontaine

Belonging to Madame Mosnier



about these letters. A hand-written note was addressed to each of the princes and princesses and sent by one of the Emperor's valets de chambre.

On the evening of the reception, at half-past seven precisely, the chamberlains on duty and two Ladies of the Palace proceed to the Grand Appartement to ascertain that all is in order, receive the company, and do the honours. On the stroke of eight o'clock the princes and the princesses, the great officers and the officers and ladies of Their Majesties' Households arrive. The princes, and the princesses, each with her lady-in-waiting and her lady 'on duty,' and also the great officers and their wives, proceed at once to the Salle du Trône. The rest assemble in the salons.

At half-past eight come the ministers, who, with their wives, have the entrée to the Salle du Trône, also persons belonging to the households of the princes and princesses and 'others composing the Court' who have the entrée of the salons only.

At nine o'clock—these hours are of obligation and are marked on the notes—the 'informed' (avertis) arrive. From six to seven hundred persons are assembled in the first and second ante-chamber of the Grands Appartements. The women are entitled to be seated, they may even talk among themselves. Card-tables are set out, each with its six packs of cards and silver counters engraved with the likeness of the Emperor—it was not until 1812 that Denon had special counters struck for the use of the residences, with the exergue *Heur et Malheur*—but there is no play.

About nine o'clock, the Empress, accompanied by her Lady-in-waiting and by her ladies 'on duty,' enters the Salle du Trône, where, out of respect for the place, there are no card-tables. She makes the tour of the circle, receives the homage of all and distributes kindly words; then the Chamberlains come to take her commands and introduce persons who are in the first salons to pay their respects.

After a short time the Empress passes with the princesses into the Emperor's salon, which is entered from the Salle du Trône and precedes the Galerie de Diane. Card-tables are set there for her, the princesses,

and the Lady-in-waiting. The Chamberlain of the day has given notice to the persons 'to whom the Empress does the honour of playing cards with them;' he has even informed those who are to be seated at the other tables. All the 'avertis' may move about freely, even in this salon, but no more of the company are presented.

In the first and second ante-chambers the Chamberlains and the Ladies of the Palace form their card-parties, but the play is merely a form; there are no stakes; it lasts hardly half an hour.

A little before ten o'clock the Emperor leaves his apartments and passes through the salons. The players do not rise, nor do they suspend their game unless the Emperor comes towards them: in that case the cards are laid down and all stand while His Majesty is speaking to them; but as the men who are not playing are standing all through the evening, they are spared that trouble.

At ten o'clock the Chamberlains begin to usher the guests in due order into the concert room, which is the Salle des Maréchaux. One after another they empty the salons, the first ante-chamber, the second, the Salle du Trône, and the Emperor's Salon. They place the women on the two sides of an oblong quadrilateral; the third side will presently be occupied by the Emperor and his Court, and the fourth by the orchestra. The women are seated on two rows of tabourets, the first of the first row being reserved for the ladies in attendance on the Empress and the princesses; these have precedence over all the other ladies; the latter are placed according to the rank of their husbands. The men stand at the back of the tabourets.

Between a quarter and half past ten, when all are in their places, the Emperor enters, followed by the Empress, the princes and princesses, the foreign princes and the great dignitaries; but in order to avoid the disputes about rank that might arise among the foreign princes, the latter are seated on the left, next to the princesses, His Majesty's sisters, who come after his sisters-in-law.

The great officers and the officers on duty stand behind the Emperor.

There is a prelude by the orchestra. The following programme of one of the concerts given in 1806 has been taken at random.

Ouverture des *Deux Jumeaux*, de Guillelmi.

Air de *Roméo et Juliette*, de Zingarelli,
par Madame Duret.

Air des *Horaces* de Cimarosa,
par M. Crescentini.

Air détaché de Crescentini,
par Madame Barilli.

Duet de *Cléopâtre* de Nasolini,
par Madame Barilli et M. Crescentini.

Air détaché avec chœurs de Jadin,
par M. Lays.

Duo *delle Cantatrice villane*, de Fioravanti,
par Madame et M. Barilli.

Grand finale du *Roi Théodore à Venise*, de Paisiello.

The concert being ended, the male and female dancers of highest repute at the Opera advance into the great square space which has remained empty. The Emperor has his own *corps de ballet*, paid yearly; Gardel is ballet master at a salary of 6,000 francs; Despréaux as teacher of dancing and composer of the entertainments, receives 3,000 francs; then come Vestris, Duport and Saint-Amand, Madame Gardel, Bigottini and Louise Courtois, with fixed salaries, but other dancers are requisitioned at need.

The first time that their ability was tested was on the 14th Frimaire, Year XIII., the evening of the Distribution of the Eagles, when, after the Pope who was present at the concert had been re-conducted by the Emperor so far as the Galerie de Diane, a ballet was danced in the presence of the greatly amused cardinals, and Gardel, Vestris and Duport distinguished themselves so much that the Emperor sent a present of 3,000 francs to each of them. The entertainment having pleased the spectators, five ballets were given in the winter and spring of 1806, at a cost of 15,234 francs—not to speak of less important occasional performances.

Although it has been said that "this part of the fêtes amused every-

body and even the Emperor," the more fastidious were of opinion that "the ballets being seen so close destroyed the illusion that is lent to them by the stage with the aid of its distance and lighting-up." On several occasions disappointment was felt, and besides, the ill-prepared floor was better calculated for falling than for dancing; it forbade the special feats in which Gardel and Vestris excelled, and admitted only of attitudes and grouping. However, the thing was new, and satisfactory enough when the entertainments were expressly arranged for representation in the Salle des Maréchaux.

During the concert the Empress will have decided upon her supper-party, and sent her Chamberlain to inform the persons whom she has selected. The princesses will have done the same.

The ballet is over in half an hour, and the Emperor and Empress, followed by the princes and princesses, the Ladies of the Palace, and then by all the other persons, return through the long suite of salons to the Galerie de Diane. Round tables, glittering with silver and crystal, are set out there; the Empress's table is a little larger than the rest; on it from ten to twelve covers are laid; then, the respective tables of each of the princesses, the Lady-in-waiting, the Lady of the Bedchamber, and from twelve to fifteen other tables, each presided over by a Lady of the Palace with from eight to ten covers. Only the women are seated; a buffet at the far end of the Gallery is provided for the men, who make a circle around the Emperor. His Majesty walks about, saying a word to one or another. Occasionally he goes up to some lady and talks to her, but this occurs rarely, and then it gives rise to gossip.

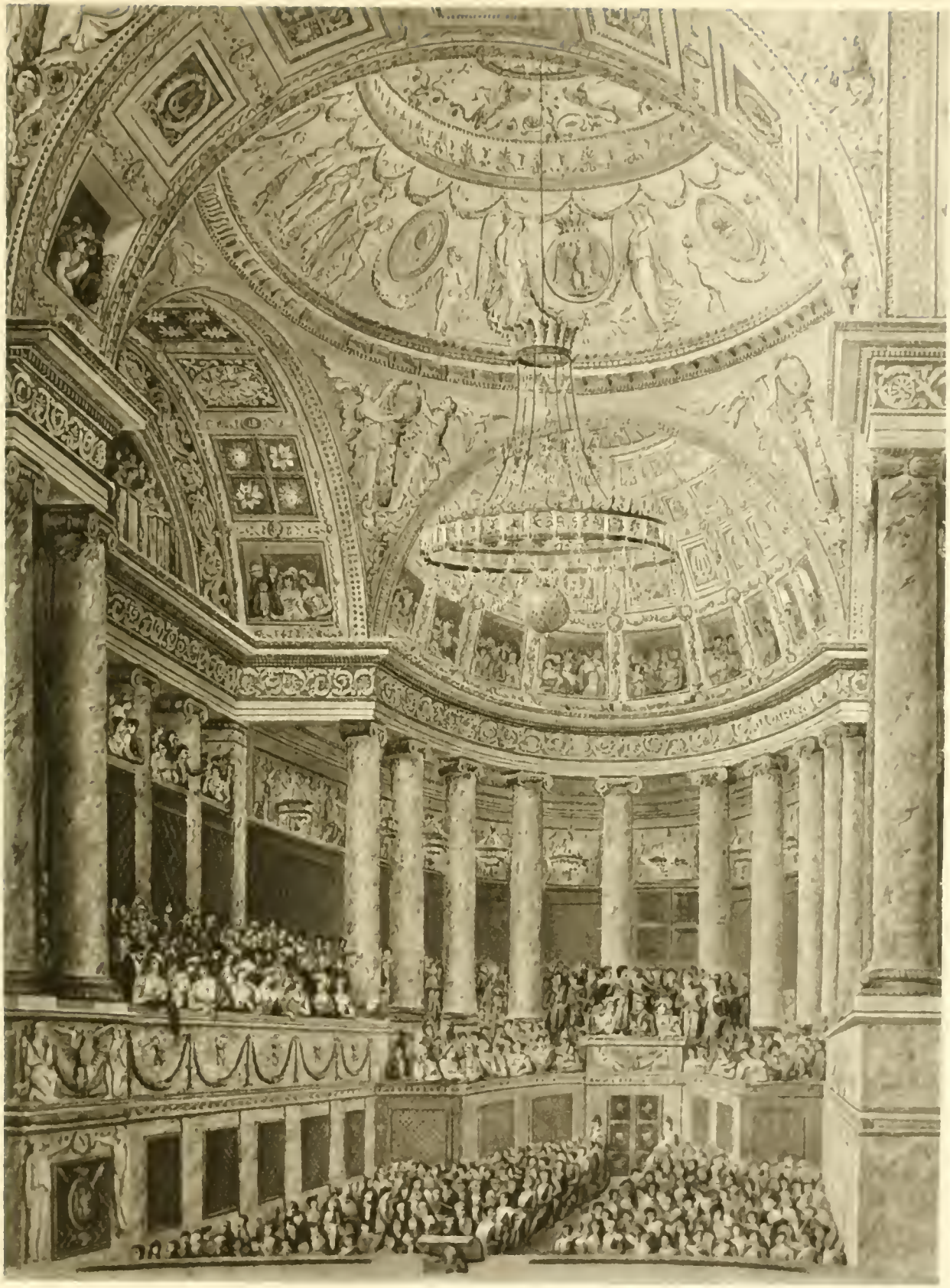
Supper is served as a collation, hot and cold dishes together: two pages stand behind the Empress's fauteuil, two behind the Emperor's, which is empty. The Empress's butler carves at her table, and she is served by the pages; the other tables are served by the butlers, the 'valets de chambre d'appartement,' the running footmen, and, if there is a very large company, the livery servants. After a quarter of an hour, the Empress rises, goes with the Emperor to the Salle du Trône; the guests follow;



THE COURT THEATRE.

Water-colour by Percier and Fontaine.

Belonging to H. M. the Emperor of Russia.



none may retire until the Emperor has dismissed the 'cercle:' it is then half-past twelve or one o'clock in the morning.

Such was the ordering of the great fêtes, the complete fêtes, those which included play, concert, ballet and supper, but all these were not given on the same occasion in general, and the 'cercle' with card-playing was the most ordinary form of the imperial receptions

* * *

It was not until 1808 that the Tuileries possessed a theatre in which Italian Opera both 'buffa' and 'seria,' comic opera, tragedy, and comedy might be given, according to the seasons. Joséphine enjoyed it for barely two winters, and how short those were cut! Nevertheless, from that time, the Tuileries theatre became the chief of the pleasures to be had there, and indeed the basis of all the public rejoicings; and it was Joséphine who presided at its inauguration and its first triumphs.

From the beginning of 1806, the Emperor, who had returned from his campaign in Germany, in no humour to lag behind those petty princes, each of whom had given him an opera in the theatre of his palace—at Carlsruhe as well as at Stuttgart and at Munich—was resolved to have a theatre built at the Tuileries. This was undoubtedly his chief motive; but there were others : in the first place he held the entertainments at his Court somewhat unworthy of his renown; 'the play' he considered 'of etiquette', and although he might add it to the 'cercle' at Malmaison and at Saint-Cloud, he could not do so in Paris. He, personally, liked the theatre, the lyric especially, but also the tragic stage. Now, in order to have this recreation he was obliged to confront the paying public each time, for it was the established custom for the audience to applaud on the sovereign's appearance in his box and for him to bow. Napoleon did not care to test his popularity by the fervour of frequent hand-clapping : he considered such a farce, especially if repeated several times a week, unworthy of his rank, and likely to do harm both within and without : it

ought to be made an event in the life of Paris. Since he liked tragedy, and that he could not see it at the place were it was played, he would have it at home. For all these reasons and others, he resolved to have a theatre in the right wing of the Palace of the Tuileries, on the site of the former Salle de la Convention, which had been set up in the place previously occupied by the Salle des Machines where Louis XIV. had danced his ballets. He opened a first credit of 250,000 francs; but the works were more important and took more time than was expected. Fontaine's ambition was so to dispose the machinery as to be able to set a complete scenic decoration repeating that of the 'house,' upon the stage, in order to provide for balls and fêtes by this means throughout the whole extent. The operation prolonged the works; in 1807 a fresh credit of 150,000 francs was called for, but nothing was ready for the fêtes of the return from Tilsit, and it was not until November that all was complete.

These delays did not greatly trouble Joséphine; perhaps she had suggested them, for 'the play' outside of the palace was her sole recreation. Under the Consulate, before the Treaty of Lunéville, she had gone to a theatre almost every evening; at the outset of the Empire, she still went very often. To be sure, it was to a big box with a cortège and a picket of soldiers around her carriage, and only to the imperial theatres: to be sure, also, if the Emperor accompanied her, she never saw the end of the pieces because Napoleon insisted on getting home by ten o'clock; but, even this gave her a breath of the outer air; she had the recreation of seeing new faces and dresses; she made one of the crowd, from however great a height above them. No doubt she would have preferred plays more lively and less pompous. If she enjoyed herself at *her* theatre, Le Théâtre de l'Impératrice, where Picard made her laugh, she would have been still more amused at the Vaudeville and the Théâtre Montansier; she would have delighted in frequenting the Porte-Saint-Martin, the Ambigu, the Gaîté, the Jeunes Artistes, the Jeunes Élèves, and would not have despised even the unpretending Théâtre and the Jeunes Comédiens. Thus she might have got some relief from the rather oppressive pomp under

which she sometimes sank. In default of such pleasures, of such escapades —we should not find more than one or two examples of them probably— not having 'the play,' she contented herself with the theatre. Josephine, in common with many great ladies, had a taste which is inexplicable in their case, but is less so in her's if we consider the life she led: she was familiar with theatrical gossip and scandal, and meddled, more than became her, in the rivalries of the princesses of the Comédie-Française. During the Consulate, Mademoiselle Raucourt was on such a footing of intimacy that she wrote to her, and as the actress was very learned in rare flowers, this formed a bond between her and the Empress, who, in 1809, presented her with the works of Redouté, and afterwards received her at Navarre, took her round the conservatories, and kept her to luncheon. She presented Mademoiselle Georges with her first tragedy costumes; and took such a fancy to Mademoiselle Contat that she invited her to Malmaison, and only the tact of the actress saved the Empress from the embarrassing position in which she had placed herself. She granted audiences to Mademoiselle Duchesnois, to Mademoiselle Volnais, to Mademoiselle Bourgoin, promised a leave of absence to the one, an entire share (in the Société) to the others, defended herself but ill against familiarities which have been exaggerated, made herself the laughing-stock of the Comédie, the hope of factious actresses, the terror of the administration, and was called to order by M. de Rémusat.

Well, at least all this diverted and amused her. It was her only remaining means of keeping low company and seeing 'irregulars' whose jargon, she thought, would amuse her; for we are always inclined to imagine that actresses possess the intelligence which the authors lend to them.

Now her last diversion would be nearly at an end, the pleasure of going out and showing herself at the play would be still less attainable from the moment that the Tuileries theatre should be finished.

The theatre that was to be finished at the end of November 1807 was handsome. It was very long in proportion to its width, and the whole of its pit-tier was adorned with Ionic pillars of variegated marble, their shafts

and capitals being richly gilded. At the back was a circular space containing the diplomatic box, flanked by the boxes of the princes and princesses, and attached to the amphitheatre, where the Court personages of highest rank would have their places. On the front of the stage in two projections formed by four columns whose entablature supported the spring of the arch of the proscenium, were the Emperor's box and the Empress's; a gilded fauteuil, gold-striped 'à la Bourgogne,' was placed in the front of each; on the wall was a large mirror draped in crimson silk which reflected the whole house. This was for ordinary days; on great occasions the Emperor occupied the diplomatic box. On the two long sides of the parallelogram ran a sort of balcony where the spectators were thrown into relief by a high background of sea-green hangings sown with golden bees; above this, almost on the level of the colonnade, was a row of insignificant boxes, others, which were railed, were situated on the ground-floor on both sides of the pit, others again above the diplomatic box, quite high up in the massive rib supporting the cupola; but nothing of this was visible: the eye was struck only by the pit, the amphitheatre, the two balconies, and the proscenium,—those parts of the theatre which were to be occupied by the Court.

Not too much gilding, no ponderous sculpture; the pervading tone was given by the violet markings of the marble, relieved by gold; the arm-rests and ledges were in crimson silk. The cupola, a spherical vault decorated with eagles and gilded arabesques in relief on a sea-green ground, rested upon four massive ribs, very thick and similarly ornamented; busts of Corneille and Molière were placed at the angles. A lustre of gilded bronze and cut crystal holding fifty lights hung from the centre of the cupola. When required, the theatre could be transformed into a ball room by setting scenery on the stage which precisely reproduced the arrangement of the amphitheatre: communication was made by one staircase between the amphitheatre and the pit, and between the pit and the stage by another; thus a room thirty yards long by fifteen yards wide, with different levels singularly adapted to the ceremonial

ordering of the imperial processions, banquets, and balls was procured. The theatre was reached from the interior of the palace by a vast saloon on a level with the boxes appropriated to the princes and princesses, oblong in shape, with arched doorways, lighted by three lustres and adorned with large mirrors; the hangings were blue, with gold lace and fringe, the ceiling was lapis-lazuli colour with gilded figures in relief. A portico with pillars of white-veined stucco gave admittance to the theatre.

In coming from the Grands Appartements or simply from the Salle des Maréchaux, to the saloon, it was necessary to descend the Grand staircase, cross the Salle des Gardes, reascend the staircase of the Conseil d'État, and pass through the first ante-chamber and the Salle du Conseil itself, which was separated from the Saloon by the second ante-chamber, serving as a Messenger's Room. This involved a long walk through ill-warmed rooms, with perilous changes of temperature; but no attention was paid to the matter, apparently.

On his return from Italy on the 1st of January, 1808, the Emperor hastened to inspect the new theatre. He pronounced it too big; the spectators could only see imperfectly and hear not at all: however, it triumphed at the first representation on Saturday, the 9th of January. Paër's *Griselda* was given and all was perfection,—singers, costumes, scenery, the libretto specially printed by Fain, 'printer to the Court theatres,' with the French text opposite the Italian; but above all the 'house.' Enough could not be said of the effect produced by the dresses and the diamonds in such surroundings; particular praise was awarded to the majestic proportions and arrangements, to their amplitude, their extent, and the sobriety of a decoration by which the women's finery was not reduced to insignificance.

The Emperor was so much pleased that he charged the Grand Marshal to compliment the architect; but a week later, the tune was changed. Whether the arrangements were at fault, or that the cold had become very keen outside, no one knew, but the temperature in the theatre was simply cruel. Ladies complained so audibly and coughs became so alarming that the Emperor left the house without waiting for the afterpiece. *Brueys et*

Palaprat, a comedy by Etienne. Severe reproaches ensued. Fontaine did all in his power, seven additional stoves were placed under the theatre at the risk of fire, the roof was lined, chinks were stopped, the second-row seats in the boxes had the step raised, and on the 23rd, *Brutus* and Etienne's piece were played in an over-heated theatre, where, too, all the Ladies, remembering their former experience, wore fur.

Thenceforward, during the periods of the Emperor's residence in Paris, 'the play' followed the usual course; on Saturdays in 1808, on Tuesdays in 1809, regularly, a tragedy and a 'little comedy,' or one act of an opera seria or buffa, followed by Italian airs, and sometimes a portion of a ballet.

Although the Opéra-Comique and the Théâtre de l'Impératrice were imperial theatres, they were never admitted, so to speak, or allowed to appear at the Tuileries. Also, notwithstanding the beauty of the house and the perfection of the actors' performance, the audience was but little interested, and the whole thing was cold and formal: there was no applause in His Majesty's presence.

As every one went direct to the theatre, the ceremonial was less oppressive; there was no question of entrées to the Salle du Trône. On their return the Emperor and Empress held a 'cercle' for a few minutes, and then retired. Very rarely was supper served after the play. Between the acts refreshments were handed round by footmen, and it was reckoned more than enough when two hundred and fifty 'shaped' ices, a bowl of punch, and twenty carafes of various kinds of syrup had been provided.

* * *

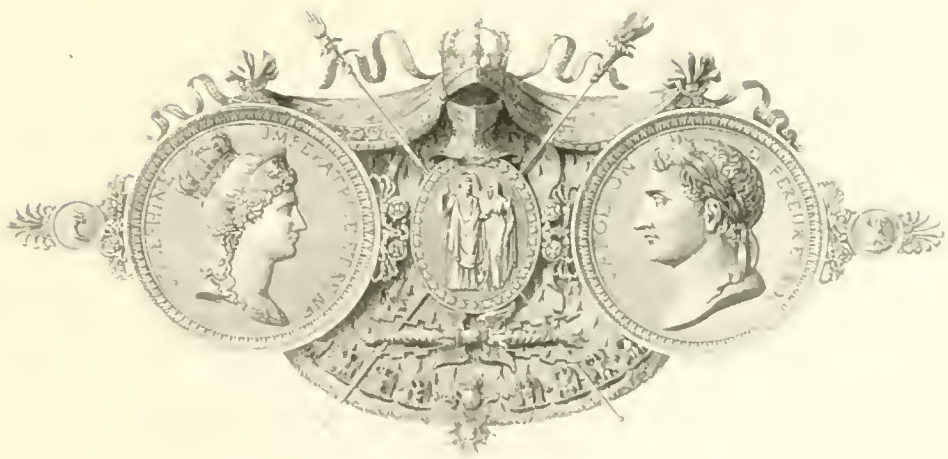
These then were the Court pleasures: we may be sure that Joséphine would have preferred some more suited to her order of mind and the education she had acquired in the Directory period; but she put up readily enough with the irksomeness of her position as Empress, and it even pleased her. She complained of and liked the inexorable etiquette: was it not the affirmation of her high fortune, the material proof of her elevation?



NAPOLEON AND JOSÉPHINE

Drawing by Percier and Fontaine

The air and bearing of Joséphine on ceremonial occasions was all the more admired that she had not been born to a throne. No sovereign in France had ever shown more dignity, tact and ease than this 'little Creole.' Not one of them had walked in processions, advancing under the gaze of the spectators, without the least disarrangement of her robes of State, as she walked. She was born possessed of that grace which cannot be acquired; she had none of the indolence and nonchalance of Creole women; her dignity was entirely devoid of stiffness and affectation,—a 'way' so completely that which a sovereign's ought to be, and yet so entirely her own, that she was the incarnation of the whole of the new Régime. Was not this all that was required of her and all that was to be hoped from her?





VISIT TO THE STUD

Drawing by Carle Vernet, engraved by Duplessis-Bertaux and P. Chaffard

Heading for the Second Letter of the Grand Hippic



IV.

THE 'VOYAGES' SMALL AND GREAT.

The periods of the Emperor's stay at Saint-Cloud in the course of the wandering life that he led, perhaps in imitation of the kings his predecessors, with Joséphine following its course, are not to be reckoned among the 'voyages.' Saint-Cloud was two leagues off, however, and although almost in a straight line with the Tuileries the road was not very pleasant. It was singularly unfrequented from the Point-du-Jour onward and even somewhat unsafe; but two leagues did not count; the driving was at full speed, and the distance was less than half way for those who, ten years before, had to go to Versailles. They regarded Saint-Cloud as a Parisian palace by the same right as the Tuileries. If it was to Saint-Cloud that the Emperor or the Empress returned after a 'voyage', guns were fired there just as though they had entered their 'Good City.' The same

Drawing-Rooms were held, the same plays were performed, as at the Tuileries, the Apartments were similarly distributed, and life went on as usual, with the addition of facilities for walking and the enjoyment of the Gardens.

The latter was the essential advantage of Saint-Cloud. In Year XI., those gardens were restored to a fitting condition at a cost of 388,401 francs 98 centimes, and they were kept up in ordinary years for about 37,000 francs: their extent, including both the great and small park, was six hundred acres. By degrees the Emperor had repurchased the houses built upon ground which had formerly been granted to courtiers, or had been sold as national property at the Revolution, also sundry small houses worth from 1,200, to 28,000 francs, and the former Pavillon de Breteuil, now called Pavillon d'Italie, near the Montretout gate, formerly the Queen's Dairy. And now, waters were playing in the cascades and the parterres, the great fountain flung its column eighty feet high into the air, and the Goulottes had their showers of spray once more; all the statues were replaced upon their pedestals, now encased in white marble, and the Lantern of Diogenes, executed in terracotta by the celebrated Brothers Trabucchi, which was bought by Joséphine in Year X. at the Louvre exhibition, was firmly consolidated by plumbers' work and erected on a high tower at a cost of 25,000 francs. Rare animals had their abode in enclosures in the small park, and lesser kinds of game for the Emperor's occasional hunting were kept up in the great park.

The special charm of Saint-Cloud for Joséphine was that almost without leaving home she could be at Malmaison—less than a league and a half to go; and the road lay through land belonging to the château. Now, Malmaison was hers, her very own, the house in which she delighted, wherein she accumulated her curiosities, where she stored her art-objects until she should be able to display them in the great gallery that she was always intending to build. Malmaison was the place of her choice, the château she had coveted ever since the terrible days of 1793, when, proscribed and penniless, she had taken refuge in a little house at

Croissy; and at last it had been acquired on the 21st of April, 1799, while Bonaparte was in Egypt, and without her knowing how she was to pay even one coin of the price of it. Malmaison ought to have been called Joséphine's Folly, for of all the 'Follys' it was the wildest, truly the 'folly' of an Empress. There she had the rare flowers that came to her from every country in the world and had free passage even through the English fleets; there were her vast hot-houses, finer than those of the Museum, where the rare species cultivated at Vienna, at Stuttgart, or at Berlin, were made to bloom after each successive victory of the Emperor. There were her favourite animals, a whole menagerie of beautiful birds, foreign beasts, wild creatures tamed; there her flock of merinos with their shepherds in the comic-opera costume of Swiss cowherds. And there she enjoyed the matchless pleasure of up-turning the soil, transplanting trees, hollowing out river courses, building temples, erecting pillars, inventing ornamental structures; the still greater pleasure of enlarging her borders, buying land, her own self, bit by bit, stretching herself out as it were, putting up, pulling down and rebuilding her walls, acquiring pieces of ground just as the Emperor acquired kingdoms, getting on by degrees from the hundred and thirty primary acres to the five hundred and thirty-eight acres of which the property finally consisted, to say nothing of the big farms extending almost to Versailles,—'Le Trou d'Enfer,' and 'La Garenne,'—of the lands of Buzenval, of land in the valley of the Bois des Hubies, of the Julien house, twelve hundred acres. —probably more, for the matter is bewildering.

Malmaison—a gulf into which Joséphine flung more than a million yearly—would of itself give a just and complete idea of the woman, if a truthful and exhaustive history of the place could be written. It had ceased to be the official residence of the Consul from Year XI., and never was the official residence of the Emperor. Napoleon went there of course, but, so to speak, incognito, with as little of his Court following as possible, for a day or two, at most for a week.

The house was small, inconvenient, ill adapted to 'representation,' in

no way laid out for etiquette; notwithstanding the annexes, and the purchase of the neighbouring châteaux, it still retained its bourgeois character: it was a house for a man of fair means and restricted society. It could not be made into that which it was not, the mansion-house of a great estate, still less the dwelling of a sovereign. It was like a small head on a huge body.

Joséphine did not mind this personally, however, and she took no heed of the discomfort of the people of her Court, the difficulties arising from the distance between the kitchens and the offices, and the fact that at the end of the evening, when their waiting was over, the men of her suite had to return to Bois-Préau where they were lodged. Neither did she trouble herself concerning the overcrowding of the servants' quarters, the tile-floored rooms allotted to the Ladies of the Palace, and the mean little staircase they had to climb. She was 'chez elle;' she was the lady of the château, and happier there than at the Tuileries, at Saint-Cloud, or any of the palaces. There she harmonised with her surroundings, she was at ease, she followed her own fancy, she indulged her own tastes, she was and felt that she was herself. To Malmaison she went every year for her 'fête,' St. Joseph's day, and on these occasions one of those 'pièces à couplets', in which actors and actresses belonging to her family and her society recited the appropriate prose of Deschamps more or less skilfully, and sang the virtues and the graces of the lady of the house to well known airs, was performed in the theatre. To Malmaison, so soon as the Emperor had started off to make war, to inspect his coasts, or to visit his kingdoms, thus leaving her free to cast away official state, Joséphine fled; there she installed herself, pleased like a child, bleak though the early days of spring might seem to others, to behold her tulips in bloom. And there she was happy; there she walked about as she liked; there she welcomed the persons who visited her, not as a sovereign, but as a lady in her own house; there she dined with her Ladies and her officers; she was amused by the jokes that were made; she was pleased with the little concerts that were improvised; she laughed

at the little comedies that were composed and performed; there she was herself.

* * *

To go to Malmaison was not a 'voyage:' it was a disappearance into a relative incognito. Malmaison was a half-and-half sort of residence; not an imperial, but a private dwelling; not the Emperor's property, but the property of the Empress. Almost in spite of one's self one returned to the days of the Consulate there. The persons invited thither regarded Malmaison as a paradise in comparison with Rambouillet; but the Emperor was for Rambouillet; the latter seemed to him 'Old France;' and his imagination, always alive to impressions of prestige, was charmed by the château where François I. died, by the 'bourg' with a history as old as the monarchy and the forests wherein the royal pack still seemed to give tongue. Not a piece of furniture, not an art-object remained in the château which was built by the Comte de Toulouse and sold by the Duc de Penthièvre to Louis XVI.; the land had been cut up; the woods had been plundered. What was there left of the château itself, which contained "fifty-four 'appartements de maitres', all commodious and well-furnished" on the first-floor—in the outbuildings of which one stable alone had contained stalls for two hundred horses,—when Napoleon, in his tour of inspection of residences formerly royal, arrived there on the 14th of March, 1805 (23rd Ventôse, Year XIII.) on the pretext of a hunting expedition? The household consisted of a concierge at a salary of 600 livres. Some furniture for the hunting-lodge had been procured in a great hurry, but there was no time to get any for the château. The Emperor simply camped, but he liked it, and 'paid his footing' by a gift of 8,000 francs to the hospital. This country excursion cost him dear in the end. He gave directions for an immediate re-purchase of the parts of the Château de Saint-Léger, and two houses at Rambouillet besides: in all 80.000 francs; the work at the château itself cost 280,000 francs; then furniture and other things ran the amount up to four hundred thousand.

Napoleon was so pleased with the surrounding country, the situation of the château, the idea of the repose he might enjoy there and the isolation he might contrive for himself, that this actual expenditure was nothing compared to his plans ; for the furniture alone five hundred thousand francs would be required. But he went away ; it was to the campaign of Year XIV. His mind was so full of Rambouillet that on the field of battle he formed a project for devoting the château to the education of the sons of the generals, officers, and soldiers, who were killed at Austerlitz. On reflection he found that the project could not be realized ; he renounced it, and kept Rambouillet for himself, to be furnished with the articles which had been purchased for the apartment of Madame Mère at the Tuileries. But the reckoning was below the mark ; two hundred thousand francs had to be added ; two hundred thousand francs also for the buildings, thirty-two thousand francs for the gardens, and then, these sums having been expended, he might go to Rambouillet for a couple of days. The Emperor did in fact go there for forty-eight hours on the 2nd of May, 1806, with a numerous and imposing suite : the two Murats, the Prince and Princess of Baden, Marshal Moncey, twelve great officers and officers of the different services, and, for attendance on the shooting-party, twelve pages with the 'porte-arquebuse.' He returned on the 9th of May with a suite augmented by the presence of Princess Louis, Prince Borghese, and the Empress's Ladies. Lastly, in the month of August, from the 16th to the 25th, he resided at the château, this time with the whole Court, Prince Borghese, Prince Hohenzollern, the Duc d'Arenberg, the Colonel-General on duty, two great officers, eleven officers of the Household, five Ladies, ten pages, ninety persons employed in the stables, one hundred and thirty saddle-horses, one hundred and thirty-six harness-horses. There was a wolf-hunt so far as Dourdan, and this gave the Emperor an opportunity of visiting the hospital and the Church of Saint-Germain, and of distributing 3,000 francs here and there. Some simple recreations were also permitted : in order that Mesdames de La Rochefoucauld, de Mortemart, de Perrone, and Mademoiselle d'Arberg might dance, the Empress sent for fiddlers ; and that made a 'bal champêtre.'

This was the last of it; in 1806 there were other things to do; but what a cortege the Emperor brought with him, from the 7th to the 17th of September, 1807: fourteen great officers and officers of the Household nine pages, three of the Empress's Ladies, Prince and Princess Jerôme, the Duke and Duchess of Berg, the Prince Primate, the Prince and Princess of Baden, seven officers or ladies of their households, the Maréchale Bessières and Madame Duroc: forty-four great personages to be lodged! And others came who did not stay for the whole 'voyage;' for instance the Grand Duke of Wurzburg and the reigning Prince of Dessau. Each of these alike, however high of dignity and in favour, had one quite small room in which there was hardly space to move. The weather was cold and wet, everybody got face-ache or rheumatism. "But the Emperor must not be told of it; he thinks it charming to stay here, while the Empress detests it." No wonder. After the Empress's eleven o'clock déjeuner with the princes and princesses only, came tapestry work with the princesses and the ladies. The start for 'la chasse' did not take place until two o'clock, and it was not until eight or nine in the evening that they got back, benumbed, after having 'done' ten, twelve, or fifteen leagues. The Emperor would take out his watch: "I give you ten minutes, Mesdames, for dressing: those who are not ready, must put up with scraps ('dîner avec les chats'). This was quite simple and easy for him, for at Rambouillet, and in his sporting 'voyages,' all the men wore the 'habit de chasse,' unless a contrary order was given. After this rapid dinner —it was over in a quarter of an hour—whist or reversis was played for an hour or two; then Paër, whom Napoleon had just recruited in Germany for his orchestra, sang and played the piano; and this was the pleasantest part of the evening for some. When the music was ended the Emperor retired, and all the company remained with the Empress to 'make conversation,' the men standing of course. Even at Rambouillet the Empress did not change her hours, and her company were not dismissed until between half-past one and two o'clock. The people were dead-tired—and when they came to life on the morrow it was to begin the fête over again.

In 1808, a mere passing call. It was on the 29th of October; Napoleon had come from Erfurt and was going to Spain. Joséphine accompanied him so far as Rambouillet. In 1809, on the 10th of March, he came to stay, notwithstanding that it was very cold and a bad season. He brought with him Hortense and Pauline, fourteen great officers of the Household, besides Ladies of the Palace or wives of aides de camp; he invited in the same list with the Prince and Princess of Neufchatel, Prince Borghese and Prince Aldobrandini, Prince and Princess Wolkonsky and Prince Kourakin, for the fervour of the Russian alliance was at its height. If Their Majesties went out in a barouche, Prince Kourakin was in the carriage, at the shooting Wolkonsky was placed close to the Emperor. The evening's entertainment was no longer a matter of fiddling; Crescentini and Grassini were there, and the Emperor was so pleased with them that he made each a present of ten thousand francs. Russians are said to be fond of cards: the Emperor played,—this was usual; but he staked money on the game,—which was very rare indeed; and he lost 1,540 francs.

On the 14th Colonel Gorgoly, Alexander's aide de camp, arrived at the moment of departure for 'la chasse.' He had come direct, having left St. Petersburg on the 1st. He was received on the spot by Napoleon, taken out with him, placed at his own table at dinner, and on account of the despatches brought by the Colonel, the Emperor put an end to the 'voyage' the next day, much to the delight of Joséphine, and returned to Paris.

And so it fell out that on the 19th, her fête day, Joséphine was able to be at Malmaison, there to see *La Gageure imprévue* played by the company of the Français, and after a grand display of fireworks in honour of the occasion, to give a dance in her new gallery.

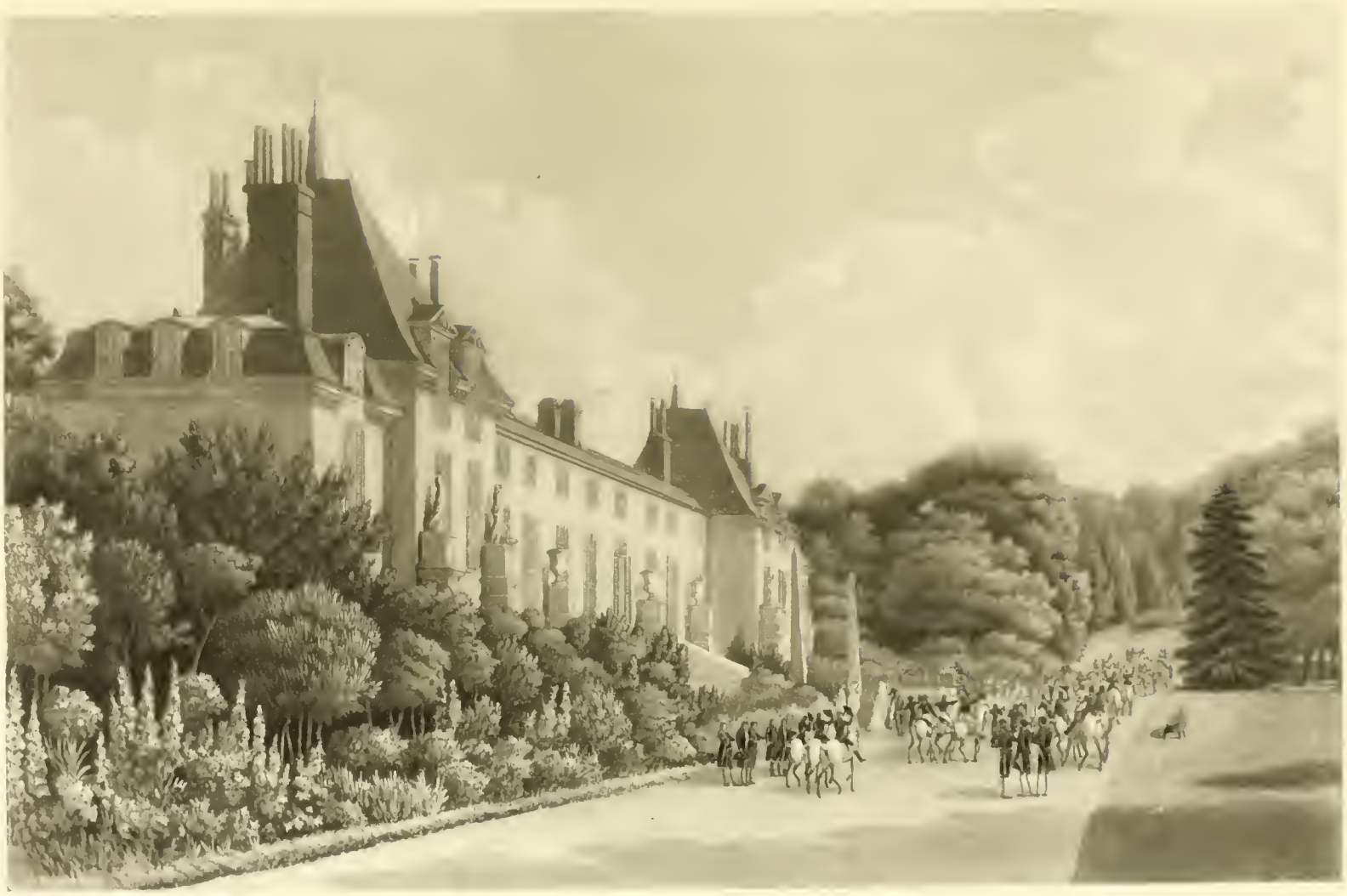
* * *

Not quite a month at Rambouillet in seven 'voyages'! To Fontainebleau, on the contrary, prolonged visits were made,—'voyages' like those



MALMAISON — A VIEW OF THE CHATEAU

Water-colour by Garneray.



of the Bourbon kings, when the whole Court accompanied the Emperor, the Ministers followed him, and the 'bureaux' themselves came after, so that the political capital seemed to have changed its place. Then it was no longer fiddlers or a few singers who furnished the evening's amusements; the entire companies of the imperial theatres were requisitioned, and there was more animation on the road to Fontainebleau than in the most frequented of the Paris streets.

The charm of Fontainebleau for Napoleon was greater than that of Rambouillet. "This," he said, "is the real abode of Kings, the house of the ages." No sooner had he made an inspection, in the early days of the Empire, Messidor, Year XII. (27th of June, 1804) than he decided on having the whole restored to habitable condition, contrary to the judgment of the architects—"who unanimously asserted that it would cost more to put the château in repair than to pull it down." On this first 'voyage,' he had been obliged merely to camp; some furniture had been brought from Paris, and some had been hired; it was like a campaign experience; but the Emperor went away quite satisfied, and determined to incur the necessary expense. He proved this by immediately nominating the interior staff and giving orders for the works. Things were hardly in train when he decided on going to meet the Pope at Fontainebleau. At a cost of 160,000 francs the officials succeeded in getting the building put into a decent condition, but they had only nineteen days before them for furnishing the whole. By dint of prodigious activity this was accomplished; artillery waggons were employed to convey the furniture which was collected from the Tuileries, Saint-Cloud, the Hôtel that had belonged to Moreau, the Château de Grosbois, and from cabinet-makers, to Fontainebleau. Mirrors were hung everywhere; pictures were brought from the Louvre, and the sacred subjects were carefully reserved for the Pope's apartment; all the linen, china, glass, and kitchen utensils were purchased; everything was ready to the moment, even to a fine metal eagle for the obelisk of the cross of Saint-Herem, which cost 165 francs 15 centimes.

But, although the apartments of the Sovereigns were in order, and pre-

sented a fine appearance, the persons of the suite were ill-lodged, and some among them not at all : however, notwithstanding the cold and the inconvenience, that first four days' 'voyage' must have left Joséphine some happy recollections, for then and there it was that, thanks to the Pope, she obtained the 'religious marriage' which she had so long and vainly desired. The Emperor took a liking for Fontainebleau : within the year he expended 1,500,000 francs on the buildings, and a million on fitting them up; in 1806, 800,000 francs for the buildings, and 700,000 francs in furniture : during the Empire there was spent in building (the figure is greatly reduced here) 6,242,000 francs, and, at the valuation of the inventory, 3,392,000 francs in furniture. And this does not reckon the expenditure upon the gardens, the purchase of real estate, the expenses charged to the account of Woods and Forests, and the rest.

From 1807 everything was in order and almost complete ; so that on the 21st of September, the Emperor was in a position to 'command' one of those 'voyages' in which from twelve to fifteen hundred persons —the highest of dignity in the State—were invited, lodged, 'found' in everything, and three thousand, not of the least, were entertained at dinner It is the Emperor himself who supplies these figures ; *a priori*, they seem surprising. The 'liste du voyage' is in fact by no means so ample, although it is long : the princely personages are the Queen of Holland, the Jérômes, the Murats, Stéphanie and her husband, Borghese, the Prince Primate and the Grand Duke of Wurzburg, then Talleyrand and Berthier, and after these, thirty-five officers, Ladies of the Palace, and invited guests. But each of the princesses had her household, each held her Court, and all received alternately. For the foreigners alone open house was kept in five instances : at the respective dwellings assigned to the two Secretaries of State for France and for Italy, the two Ministers of External Relations, and the French Minister of the Interior. Almost open house for the French was kept at the abodes of Berthier, Duroc, the great officers and the Marshal who were members of the 'voyage.' Altogether, fifty-two tables were furnished by the Emperor's kitchens, eleven hundred

beds were put up within the walls of the Château, and four thousand were provided by the Court for persons who had lodgings outside. This reckoning is made by a German, one of the suite of the Grand Duke of Baden, who was in general very precise and well-informed. Now, could it be imagined what these beds cost for the least important persons? Musicians were lodged in a tavern at 12 francs a day; true, several of them were together; but the Badeners paid 18 francs a night for a miserable room; and, in the matter of food, all who did not belong to the Court were lodged as they might have been in Calabria: one paid six francs for a cup of tea and a few grapes; another—Cardinal Caprara—six hundred francs for a bouillon for himself and a bad dinner for his people. A little world in fact swarmed there, and it was a world which did not hesitate to pay: each of the members of the Corps Diplomatique had taken a house. Just as in Paris, a succession of Ambassadors coming to present their credentials or their letters of recall passed through the little town, and the State carriages, as they came and went with their grand escort afforded glimpses of astonishing costumes: the Duke de Frias arrived from Paris; the Ambassador of the Sublime Porte presented his new letters, General Count Tolstoï came with his suite, and, after these, the Prince of Nassau-Weilburg, the Prince of Waldeck, the Princess of Mecklenburg.

As for life at Fontainebleau, save on the hunting-days which were marked and laid out beforehand, Joséphine's routine in the morning and afternoon was the same there as it was everywhere else. Toilet, people from Paris with goods for sale, breakfast with her daughter and her Ladies, then visits from the persons staying at the château, and a bit of work in her hand to pass for occupation. At four o'clock a fresh toilet, and from five to six a drive with the Emperor, who would then emerge for the first time from his apartment where he had been at work without a pause from seven in the morning. The drive was sometimes a long one, for the Emperor would stop to question people on his road, day-labourers, an old priest, or some old soldier, on whom golden manna would fall. At six all

the tables were set going; the company were dining, ill at Champagny's, very well at Madame de La Rochefoucauld's and the Grand Marshal's; but special invitations were necessary; those who were not invited had to take refuge at the last, or general, table. The Emperor dined with Joséphine only: occasionally he would invite the princes and the kings; but no one was admitted to his table as a right and for the whole duration of the 'voyage.'

After dinner the company waited until the time had arrived for presenting themselves at the apartment of the great personage appointed to 'hold' the Court,—for this was regulated like all the rest: one evening it would be the Emperor, another, the Empress, a third, Princess Caroline, a fourth, Queen Hortense; and these receptions, with evenings at the play, made up the week: nothing was spontaneous.

If the princesses were receiving, the company went upstairs at eight o'clock; a circle was formed and every one waited. The Empress came in, made a tour of the salon, then took her place and waited like the others; at length the Emperor would arrive, and seat himself by Joséphine's side, there would be some dancing (only contredanses), he would look on, walk about for a while, say a few words, and disappear; then every one would go away.

When the Emperor himself received in the Grands Appartements, it was worse. The company went into the ante-chamber, and were announced by a chamberlain: after an interval more or less long the reception began, on some evenings those only who had the entrée were admitted, on others, everybody. A circle was formed, and there was music: Grassini, Crescentini, Paër, Brizzi; and afterwards the women took their seats at the card-tables where they remained, pretending to play, until the Emperor had vanished. When it was the Empress's turn to receive, the same routine was observed, save that there was no music: the Emperor walked to and fro, the women sat in silence side by side, the men stood flat against the wall.

Once a great ball in the Emperor's apartment was announced, and at this ball Princess Caroline and Princess Stéphanie were to lead in a quadrille; but on the evening appointed the Emperor had a cold and did not appear. He wanted, however, to see the quadrille; but some of the lady-

dancers had gone away, and others were ill. Nevertheless they reassembled, rehearsed, danced, and were as much bored as before. But the Emperor liked the thing and pronounced it "good style."

The evenings of 'the play' were anticipated with greater pleasure; these were Monday, Wednesday and Friday 'as formerly.' The Comédie ought to have alternated with the Opéra-Comique, the Théâtre de l'Impératrice, and the Italian singers; but Feydeau's company, although Elleviou was acting again, did not please the Emperor, and he liked still less Picard's who came to play *La Manie de briller* and *Les Ricochets*; only the actors from the Français were in favour. The selection was rather severe; of eighteen representations twelve were tragedies, *Horace, Iphigénie en Aulide, Rhadamiste et Zénobie, Œdipe, Le Cid, Les Vénitiens, Mithridate, La Mort de Pompée, Iphigénie en Tauride, Manlius, Rodogune, Nicomède;* some of the audience fell asleep now and then, the young women first, and even the Emperor himself. The comedies were also of the serious sort : Molière's *Tartufe, Philinte, Le Joueur, Les Châteaux en Espagne, L'Optimiste, Les Précepteurs.* The Emperor liked plays of this kind and he liked Italian music. A singular proof of his taste for the latter is furnished by the distribution of his presents to the actors : he himself allotted a sum total of 111,750 francs; of this amount he gave 9,000 francs to Feydeau's three actors, 78,500 francs almost exclusively to the tragic 'troupe,' struck his pen through the names of Desprez, Lacave, Dugazon and Madame Thénard—comic actors—and, in their place, allotted 6,000 francs to Grassini, a similar sum to Paër and Crescentini respectively, 3,000 francs to Madame Paër, and as much to Mademoiselle Delihu.

Such was his passion for music at that time that frequently, after the play, he would have the singers called back to the Empress's salon, where he would listen to them until one o'clock in the morning.

There was occasionally some amusement of a lighter kind, but this was for other spectators; for instance, old Despréaux, Guimard's husband, gave performances by dancing his fingers dressed up in different colours on a table to the strains of a violin, in imitation of the steps, attitudes,

and mannerisms of those dancers whom he knew so well. These diversions enlivened an evening now and then in the apartments of the princesses or Madame de La Rochefoucauld, alternating with the pretty Italian dances which the charming Madame Gazzani brought into fashion; the Empress saw nothing of them.

Added to those pleasures were three days' hunting in the week, in weather so cold as to render that diversion singularly disagreeable. Indeed the fête of Saint Hubert, which was to be celebrated with all the old rites, beginning with the gift of 3,000 francs to the 'équipage' by Napoleon, had to be postponed for a day, on account of the cold, much against the Emperor's will.

These hunting parties were fine to see. From the time of the Consulate for life, M. d'Hannencourt, the ranger, had applied himself to the formation of a pack which might have competed with the former royal packs, if not in number, at least in the breed and condition of the dogs. All the men of the hunting-train came from the Households of the King and the princes; the sub rangers and the porte-arquebuse were scions of ancient families which had furnished ministers to the King's pleasures from the time of Charles IX. at least. The men and the horses were turned out to perfection; everything was done in grand style and in the best way; and the same might be said of the gentlemen and ladies who followed the chase, the former wearing the traditional green coat with hunting-stripes which made a sort of gold and silver plastron on the chest, the latter far more gorgeous in attire and forming a 'flying squadron' which excited no little admiration. At first it was decided that the costume of the fair equestrians was to be a riding-habit of the hunt colours, but on reflection this was considered too sombre, and a chamois-coloured cashmere habit with facings and collar embroidered in silver was substituted; the head-dress was a black velvet hat with sweeping white feathers. Those who followed the hunt in carriages—and almost all the women did so—were even more elegantly dressed. Leroy achieved a

great triumph in what he called 'hunting-coats,'—a short velvet redingote worn over a white satin gown. The Emperor having desired that the ladies of the Court should adopt a costume, and the Empress having of course assented, Leroy was called into council, and proposed his hunting coat. It was accepted, and there remained only the choice of a colour. It was suggested that the effect would be more brilliant if each princely house had its own: the Empress agreed to amaranth embroidered in gold; the Queen of Holland took blue and silver; pink and silver fell to the Grand Duchess of Berg; and Princess Pauline accepted lilac and silver. The variously coloured velvet coats, crossed by white satin scarfs and worn over white satin gowns embroidered in gold or silver; boots to match the redingote, embroidered and plumed toques of the same colour, formed a beautiful combination; and the cortège, passing along the avenues of Fontainebleau with the wearers of this splendid attire in barouches, some driven à la d'Aumont and others à l'Espagnole, must have been a fair spectacle to behold. Into our vision of it come the outriders in the hunt livery, the official 'chasse' itself, the pages, and the ladies on horseback, the numerous suite, the Mameluke porte-arquebuses, and the cry of the hounds mingling with the fanfare of the horns sounding the *Bonaparte* instead of the *Royale!*

Gamè was the only thing wanting. Since 1805 great efforts had been made to repeople the forest with wild animals; but without much success. The re-establishment of the former rangerships was not to be thought of, and the serious application of the regulations enacted "for the protection of *the Emperor's pleasures*" would have involved more than the issuing of orders by the Prefect of Police; it would have required changes in legislation which would have appeared singularly tyrannical. So, as a fact, the forest boasted only forty stags brought from Hanover and the rest of Germany. These animals, in a forest twenty leagues in extent and infested by poachers, still had a mind to break bounds, and a trick of getting out of the way. The Emperor, who cared for hunting chiefly on account of the violent exercise it entailed, and had neither the ideas

nor the education of a sportsman, did not follow in due form, but galloped about from right to left, anyhow. The officers of the Hunt did their best, but nevertheless, foreigners, such as Metternich, smiled.

The first 'sojourn' at Fontainebleau marked the most splendid and luxurious period of the history of the Empire, its vast expenditure constituted Napoleon's most active and serious attempt to re-establish the pleasures of the former Court in full. Why did nobody enjoy it? "It is strange," he said, "I have collected a number of people at Fontainebleau, I have wished them to be amused, I have arranged all kinds of pleasure for them, and here they are with long faces, all looking dull and tired." "That," answered Talleyrand, "is because pleasure is not to be ruled by the drum, and you always seem to be saying, just as you say to the troops: 'Come on ladies and gentlemen, forward, march!'"

Joséphine had at least one source of amusement during this 'voyage': she might indulge in the idea that she had inspired a last love—the thing that every woman covets and that seems as sweet and dear to her as the last rays of the setting sun on a fine day in autumn. One of the party was a handsome and agreeable young prince, ready to fall in love, especially with a woman of whom he had heard so much. This was the Prince of Mecklenburg-Schwerin, who afterwards proclaimed his passion for Madame Récamier so loudly; but just then he was devoted to the Empress. Did he imagine that the French troops would vacate his States any the more quickly for that? Joséphine laughed and was much amused; Napoleon took it very well in the beginning; but,—either because the persevering 'spooniness' of the young man annoyed him, or because it had been reported to him that the prince had risen into great favour with the Faubourg Saint-Germain by saying one day on entering a salon there: "No diamonds, no cachemires, good company!"—he made him pay for it: and it cost a great deal to have a part of the French army on a visit! The Prince of Mecklenburg-Schwerin did not blame Joséphine for this; after the divorce he asked her to marry him.



THE EMPEROR RETURNING FROM SAINT-CLOUD TO THE TUILERIES

Drawing by Opitz.

Bibliothèque Nationale, Collection Lanzac de Laborie, Domaine Public



That divorce was not far off when Napoleon, then at Schœnbrunn, decided that the end of the autumn of 1809 should be passed at Fontainebleau. There was a very full list for this 'voyage,' more than seventy persons, all the ministers, the presidents of the sections of the Council of States, the wives of the great officers and the principal officials, not to speak of the whole Court, or of Madame, Julie, Hortense, and Pauline. Notwithstanding the fine list, however, nobody was present when the Emperor arrived at ten o'clock in the morning of the 26th of October; and when Joséphine arrived in the utmost haste from Saint-Cloud, she found the doors by which her apartment communicated with Napoleon's walled-up. During those twenty days, from the 26th of October to the 14th of November, the life at the château was apparently the same as it had been in 1807 : no tragedies, however, were given in the theatre; it was in the palace they were acted. Only two comedies were played, *Le Secret du Ménage* and *La Revanche;* then a number of Italian operas, an act from this one, an act from that, and so on. Three evenings in the week were filled up thus; on the others there were receptions by the princesses, the Emperor's 'cercle,' sometimes a ball. When there was no official entertainment the company amused itself with 'petits jeux' in Madame de La Rochefoucauld's salons.

Strict etiquette was relaxed by the Emperor with respect to the dinners : he no longer dined alone with the Empress; he no longer admitted 'princes and princesses only to his table; he had company every day; the Ministers, such senators as were among the guests, even Fontanes, nay, even the senators-deputies of his kingdom of Italy.

Almost every day he hunted, after a wild fashion : these hunts lasted from five to six hours; he wore out his horses, he rode twenty leagues at full speed. On the days when the 'chasse' was not hunting (a courre) it was shooting (à tir); for the first time a boar battue (chasse aux toiles) took place; eighty wild boar were driven into a sort of circus, a vast platform having been erected in the middle for the sportsmen, and the side of the tribune from which the ladies looked on at the slaughter was eight yards high.

The situation was now as follows : the Emperor must have gaiety, he must have movement, he must have some violent recreation : he has made up his mind, he has decided on the divorce, and shows it in many ways and places. At the play, it was no longer he who left his seat on the right of the stage to go across and chat with the Empress between the acts; it was she who went to him, twice in one evening, "and with much less than her customary confidence." The whole Court took note of the preference shown to the Bonapartes, the neglect to which Joséphine was condemned. What was the good of considering her now, what was the use of keeping up the forms and the attitude, due only to the sovereign, towards her who would soon cease to hold that place; "and while Joséphine was making her round of the company and addressing a gracious word to each person according to her wont, the Ladies of the Palace kept their seats, laughing and talking loudly with the officers." Poor woman, what a calvary she was climbing, in her splendid attire, with flowers in her bodice and a diadem of diamonds on her head, the smile of a stage-dancer on her contracted lips, forcing her voice to utter sweet sounds, her brain to recall those trifles by which she might please! Whenever she met one of the great officers whom she could take aside, or a minister, or a great dignitary, or any man, however small a personage, whom she supposed to be in the secret, she would rush to him with : "What has he said? What will he do? Why is the door blocked up? Why this affected coldness? What is to become of me?" And she received no answer, only vague words, spoken with manifest embarrassment. And some one comes in, and she must stifle her tears, steady her voice, and dress herself, and 'appear.' Fontainebleau had seen dramas more sanguinary, but none so poignant, none in which humanity was more ruthlessly rent, or a heart bled more profusely.

* * *

Until now, in these small 'voyages,' Joséphine had only held the position of a satellite of the star whence all the light proceeded : did he shed his

rays upon her, she shone with incomparable brilliance; did he withhold them, her lustre was extinguished and she fell back into nothingness. We must now look at her as a solitary figure, making her progresses by herself, and playing her part as Empress unsupported. Of course she never was anything but a reflected image; she received second-hand honours only; the style and state in which she travelled were but transient; and the words she said were dictated to her beforehand; nevertheless the spectacle is curious, and we must study it. A 'voyage' to Aix-la-Chapelle 'aux eaux' on the part of Her Majesty the Empress, was no light matter, especially in Year XII. (1804), just at the beginning, when the imperial dignity was a novelty to the Emperor, and his intention was to keep it up to the highest standard, and to let his wife do nothing but what it became a great sovereign to do.

Before the start of the expedition heavy expenses were incurred. Horses and carriages had to be bought: forty-seven horses at a cost of 67,214 francs; and eight carriages,—four berlines, two cabriolets, a chair with springs and a barouche,—26,772 francs. Ten thousand francs went in harness and repairs. Then the Emperor, who could not endure that in Aix-la-Chapelle, an imperial city, his wife should be lodged at an inn, had bought a house, furnished, from M. Jacobi, 'Conseiller de Préfecture.' "This," said one of the newspapers, "is one of the handsomest buildings that adorn the town." So, it was cheap at 144,000 francs. Besides these material requirements, it was necessary to be provided with presents to distribute, such as necklaces, earrings, pins and snuff-boxes: Marguerite provided 36,000 francs' worth of those commodities, while Commun furnished 2,880 francs' worth of shawls for the same purpose.

At first it was proposed that a large part of the Household should accompany the Empress; but several persons found pretexts for not doing so, and on the eve of the start there remained only the First Equerry, M. d'Harville, an Equerry-Master of the Horse, M. de Fouler, two chamberlains, MM. de Beaumont and d'Aubusson, the Lady-in-Waiting and three Ladies of the Palace, Mesdames de Luçay, Auguste Colbert and de Vaudey: it is true that Mademoiselle Lucie de Luçay accompanied her mother and made an

agreeable change from Madame de Rémusat. There were, besides, the private secretary, and, for attendants, a comptroller-butler, an ordinary butler, two ushers, ten footmen, the whole of the Chamber, and an important detachment from the kitchens and offices. The 'Stable' went on with the vehicles under the command of Guérin (père), and numbered at least fifty persons. For the transport of all these people (with the exception of the stable folk who had gone on before-hand and whose journey cost 8,900 francs, food for the horses included) seventy-seven horses driven by twenty postillions, were required at each relay. The Empress and her personal suite set out directly from Saint-Cloud; her 'people' were taken to Saint-Denis in the Household carriages; this saved four relays and a half,—the former 'royal' route cost double; at two francs per horse, and three francs per postillion, we arrive at 12,216 francs.

The carriages start, gendarmerie at the doors, and sub-officers preceding them with the outriders; at each town where there is a garrison, a strong detachment of cavalry goes to meet the Empress, twenty-five guns are fired as she comes in, the same as she passes out, and the whole of the troops line the way. At half-past three Her Majesty arrives at Soissons—she has previously made only one halt of a quarter of an hour for breakfast; but she merely receives an address at the city gates, and passes straight through the town, at a foot pace for fear of accident. The arrival at Reims is very late, the whole place is illuminated, but nothing is prepared for the night. With great trouble sleeping accommodation is found; but every inconvenience is forgotten in the warm welcome of the population, the enthusiasm of the troops, and the brilliancy of the guard-of-honour commanded by Senator-General Valence in person. M. d'Harville disburses 3,100 francs in gifts, and Reims would have been remembered pleasantly but for an accident which befell General Valence, whose horse took fright at the drums and trumpets, reared, and fell over upon him. Sedan was reached in the evening; very graceful speeches were made by M. Philippoteaux the sub-Prefect, and M. Poupart de Neuflize, who received 3,600 francs for his poor people on the spot. He presented the widow of an

officer who had died on the field; she received 600 francs. The following day's journey was very difficult. From Sedan to Rethel "the high road was frightful;" but things were much worse when the cavalcade turned off into ways through which, as it appeared, no vehicle had ever passed. At night-fall the travellers came to a hill, near Fenlen, so steep that it was with great difficulty the carriages, which had to be roped, could be dragged to the top of it. The Empress screamed with terror and wanted to get out of her carriage at any cost. It was the Emperor himself who had drawn up the route, he had taken a 'road to be made' for a road 'built,' and, notwithstanding the warnings of the people of the country, none ventured to deviate from the marked plan. At length, night having fallen and the horses being knocked up, the Empress's party had to stop at a small village called Marche, and the whole suite was crowded into a wretched little house where the most favoured lay on mattresses, the rest on boards. At dawn of day they departed—leaving 1,420 francs for this miserable lodging—again to encounter the penance of the previous night, with its constant alarm and terrible fatigue for a distance of two leagues. At last, within two leagues of Liège, they came to the ferry over the Meuse, and from that onward all was delightful. The landscape was exquisite; Her Majesty had a wonderful reception; the river was crossed in a beautiful boat adorned with orange trees and green foliage; the troops were all under arms; a fine display of fireworks and universal illuminations made the fête perfect. The night was passed at Liège, at the Préfecture; 1,500 francs were given in gratuities; the next morning the journey was resumed, and Aix-la-Chapelle was reached at half-past five in the afternoon. This was the extreme frontier of the department of the Roër, and the reception by the generals in command, a squadron of the 23rd Chasseurs, and the National Gendarmerie, was of course, splendid: at the hill which rises above the city were the civil authorities; at the gates triumphal arches, and salvos of artillery; infantry (19th and 30th of the Line) lined the way; and at the house—Her Majesty's Palace—were guards-of-honour both on foot and mounted. These honours were expensive: 508 francs 62 centimes to the detachment of Gendarmerie, 9,818 francs to

the detachments of the 19th of the Line and the 23rd Chasseurs, 250 francs to the band, 3,465 francs to the sub-officers attached to the suite of the Empress, 2,600 francs to the officers of the guard-of-honour; and, in addition to all this, boots which cost 180 francs were bought for the sub-officers of the escort, and bearskin caps which cost 2,375 francs for the grenadiers of the 19th of the Line.

Here we have the Empress in her 'palace:' it was a hovel, small, dark, impossible as a habitation! And, moreover, there was great uneasiness about one of the carriages which had not been heard of for twenty-four hours, and did not arrive until three o'clock in the morning, after innumerable adventures. One of the Empress's women, Madame Saint-Hilaire, was a good deal hurt, and made a great outcry because the 'army' had not been sent to look for her. A footman had one of his arms dislocated. Things were decidedly uncomfortable.

The ladies pronounced the town hideous; rain had been falling ever since they left Paris, and the streets were none the more attractive for that. At last the sun began to shine, and the Empress left her mean 'palace' for the Prefecture, which had been given up to her by Madame Méchin with the utmost readiness, and whither Madame Gay, the wife of the receiver-general, had sent all her best furniture. Poor Madame Sophie Gay! She made sure of being at once allowed to introduce herself at Court, that her divorce from Lottier, her pranks in the days of the Directory, her letter concerning Madame de Staël, and her novels, would all be passed over, and that in the Empress she was about to find the Vicomtesse de Beauharnais once more; but she reckoned without the Emperor, and she had her journey to the Prefecture for her pains.

The Empress in fact saw no visitors beyond her ladies, with the exception of two or three German officers' wives, Madame de Sémonville, the wife of the French Ambassador to the Hague, who had come to nurse her almost dying daughter Madame Macdonald, Madame Franceschi, Madame de Léry, Kellermann's daughter, and sometimes ladies like Madame de Coigny and Madame de Durfort, who had made a pretext of taking the waters in order to come and solicit favours from Joséphine: we know all about them,

and that they had the best of 'introducers' in Madame de Luçay, their niece and cousin respectively. If these failed to get the names in their petitions struck off the list of proscriptions, who could hope to succeed?

The baths were the great affair, for Josephine hoped from them no less than the establishment of the dynasty, and Corvisart himself had come to see how they agreed with her; but this did not interfere with excursions; and there was all the greater inclination for these, inasmuch as Aix was odious and the population of the lowest. They went to La Borsette, they visited the ruins of the Carlovingian châteaux, they had pic-nics, they hunted foxes and hares, they inspected cloth and needle manufactories, they went down into coal-mines; and then, there was 'the share of religion,' visits to the treasure-house of the Cathedral, and doing reverence to the relics of Charlemagne—the Empress took away a fragment,—the fête of Charlemagne, with the Court, the authorities, the troops in full uniform, and Masses, and speeches, and thrones, and all the official splendours. Louise de Luçay did the collecting (quête), but with very little result. German Operas were tried at first as amusement for the evenings, but the actors were detestable, and it was a penance to sit out the performance.

Joséphine preferred seeing the little dwarf Nanette Stocker, eighteen inches in height, whom she loaded with pretty presents, or getting Bronch, the 'silhonetteur' to cut out portraits of herself and her Court. The artist did not lose by this: he was paid nine napoleons for each profile; but it was so amusing to see the scissors running through the black paper! It was not precisely imperial; but then it did give some additional distinction to the occasion, that the elder Picard, with a large part of the company of the Théâtre de l'Impératrice, came down from Paris. The speculation proved bad: at first they laughed at the 'bourgeois' plays; but then the ladies, and even the Empress, pronounced Picard 'mauvais ton;' one never got away from the Diligence and the Rue Saint-Denis. The public went to see him nevertheless, and the servants of the Empress's household delighted in him; but, even with the house full, the receipts hardly amounted to 1,200 francs; and 16,000 francs, which Picard received as a present, did not pay the expenses of the journey.



By degrees Joséphine settled down to her trick-track, to whist, or to the 'petits jeux,' in the evenings, while her ladies occupied themselves with loto; and so things went on except when the Empress gave a ball and the town returned the compliment. Then would Joséphine without a smile contemplate from her throne the cast-off gowns, which she had given to her waiting-maids, on the dancing backs of worthy German women to whom the former had sold them.

The life at Aix was pleasant enough, filled-up as it was by baths, drives, country excursions, and a good deal of music and conversation. Etiquette was relaxed to such a point that the Empress actually ate her breakfeast out of doors, that people sat down in her presence, and that, on one occasion, a general placed himself comfortably beside her on the divan where she was sitting. But for the large sums distributed among the workmen in the manufactories (3,600 francs), the Bishop's assistants (1,200 francs), the persons who showed the relics (600 francs), the conductor and the singers at the theatre (2,640 francs),—but for alms so liberally dispensed that their amount exceeded 30,000 francs,—and were it not that the cost of the office, the kitchen, the cellar, and lodgings for her people, reached the sum of 154,823 francs 78 centimes,—there would have been little to distinguish the Empress from a visitor of high 'quality,' one of those Russians who at that period came to the baths with their complete households and lived like queens. Money was wanted, certainly; for this 'voyage' of a month's duration cost the Household 523,000 francs; but what of that?

Just at the moment when they were rejoicing at the prospect of returning to Paris—the comptroller, who was the grand master of the 'voyage' had already set out—the news arrived that the Emperor was coming from Boulogne! Then in all haste the full-dress liveries of the footmen, the coachmen, and all the stable-folk, were sent down from Paris: then the Empress had to summon each of her ladies and inform her in private that she was about to accompany the Emperor to Mayence, that while there she would receive the Electors, other persons, and especially the Prince of Baden and his family, and that all the ladies would have to send for one or two

very fine full-dress gowns, and their diamonds. The dismay was general; the blow drove Madame de La Rochefoucauld to despair, for it affected her pocket; she did not, however, stand in need of very great compassion, for she carried off at one haul one hundred louis from the better furnished purse of M. d'Harville for her toilet, and might be trusted to save out of that sum.

The Emperor arrived, and thenceforth it was silence in the ranks! Only the Emperor spoke; etiquette was strict by the Emperor's command; punctuality was rigidly observed,—the Emperor never waited: everyone was on parade all day long, retiring to rest when it suited Napoleon, that is to say at about one o'clock in the morning, and setting out when he pleased, about seven. The rush began with the announcement that he was coming; the Ladies of the Palace had to leave the Prefecture and take up their quarters at an inn: and when they returned there at night, worn out by continual excursions and other doings, they could not get any rest, for fleas make no distinctions. The Emperor remained ten days; and every day beheld full-dress ceremonies, either for receiving Ambassadors on the presentation of new letters, for a *Te Deum* on some special occasion, or for fêtes in the town. Then came the inspection of all the manufactures in detail, and drives to all the environs of Aix; in the evening, dinner, theatre, card-playing, and 'salon.' On the 25th Fructidor (12th September), the Empress left Aix for Cologne, where the accommodation was pretty good; but it was the same life, and Joséphine, who was still suffering from severe headache, as she had been for a fortnight, was none the less obliged to travel and make herself agreeable to the Duke of Bavaria. The Emperor had fixed the hour of departure from Cologne on the 29th (16th September), at five o'clock in the morning; Joséphine succeeded in inducing him to postpone it until noon: thus it happened that the imperial party did not reach Bonn until late in the evening, and the ladies were lodged in an uninhabited house. From thence to Coblentz, where they were distributed by billet anyhow. The next day the travellers went on board the Duke of Nassau's yacht, which was beautifully fitted up, but, between its rolling and pitching and a head-wind, they accomplished hardly fourteen leagues; they reached Bingen, where they

slept, at half-past nine, and at seven in the morning started for Mayence. There the Emperor was becomingly housed in the vast Teutonic château with its façade of ninety-six windows; but it was not fully furnished; all that could be done was to find lodgings for the officers and ladies as close to it as possible. The routine of life for the latter was as follows : first, they had to dress for the Empress's breakfast, which began at eleven o'clock; they remained at the Palace without a move until two; then came a second toilet for a reception in honour of the foreign princes and princesses, and the reception itself, which brought them to about five o'clock; then a third toilet, for dinner at six; one day the table was Madame de La Rochefoucauld's, another it was the Emperor's; the princes were invited to the latter dinners. Then came 'salon,' when nobody spoke and nobody moved, until nine o'clock; and after that a play, for the Emperor had commanded his players to Mayence, and the company had tragedy to enliven them. They got back to their lodgings at about one o'clock in the morning, half-dead with fatigue. But what about the men who had been standing for four hours in succession! Of course they had the signal honour of playing whist with the Emperor now and then; there was a little card-party once at Saint-Pierre Island, and they witnessed an episode which has become historical—the fifty napoleons laid down before the poor woman who had offered up votive prayer, just as things happen in a fairy tale. And besides, there were the princes, all the princes of the banks of the Rhine, to see and to look at; but was not that a pleasure which might lose its zest? So, when the departure was fixed, and the travellers were told what was to be their route, also that sleeping accommodation was prepared for them at Spire, Saverne, Nancy, and Châlons, and that the Emperor's changing his mind was not to be feared, there was general and exuberant satisfaction.

In all this second part of the 'voyage' Joséphine was of secondary importance : true, her Gentleman-in-Waiting still noted down her gifts to the poor of each town which she passed through: 1,500 francs at Cologne, 259 francs at Bonn, 3,300 francs at Coblentz, 600 francs at Bingen, 2,300 francs at Mayence, 700 francs at Spire; but what was this compared with the



A VOYAGE IN THE TIME OF THE CONSULATE. THE FIRST CONSUL VISITING THE MANUFACTORY OF THE BROTHERS SEVENE AT ROUEN

Drawing by Isabey

Wood by Langlois



Emperor, who gave by the ten or fifteen thousand francs who allotted 6,000 to every bishop for his cathedral, and never visited a church without making a donation of twenty-five louis,—just the sum that Joséphine gave in France for the poor of each town in which she passed a night!

This 'voyage' (1804), divided into two parts, one in which the Empress was alone, the other in which she followed the Emperor, gives us almost the entire formula, the ceremonial, and the aspect of Joséphine's journeys during the reign. She came for a month to Plombières, in 1805 (14th Thermidor to 12 Fructidor, Year XIII.—2nd to 28th of August), to rest after the excessive fatigue of the 'voyage' to Italy, which she had made with the Emperor; she returned to Plombières for two months in 1809 (11th of June to 20th of August). And on each occasion with the same retinue and at a like cost. But each time there was something eliminated from the ceremonial, there was some relaxation of the etiquette; the Emperor silently restricted the honours to be rendered to the Empress; and the Household accompanying her was less and less numerous. In 1805 this diminution of rank appears to have been unintentional. It was for rest and the waters only that Joséphine had come to Plombieres; and as the shade of Charlemagne did not hover above it, the little town in the Vosges did not demand a display of the imperial pomp. A company of the 4th Line regiment was, however, sent from Nancy to Plombières to serve as Her Majesty's guard; at the boundaries of the department and the 'arrondissement' respectively the Empress was received by the civil and military authorities with speeches and salutes: at the entry of the towns triumphal arches were erected; at Plombieres, porticoes covered with foliage, illuminations and fireworks, welcomed Her Majesty. But, when all was over and done with, Joséphine had a quiet time and might remember and reflect upon the past at leisure. How far off already were the days of her former visits to this same place! She came there after Bonaparte's departure for Egypt, and she well-nigh met her death; she came back twice during the Consulate, and if she thinks of it at all, the site, the trees, the people, the dwellings, all that remains unaltered around her, ought to render the change that has befallen herself and her own

fortunes more present, more vivid, more astonishing to her. Madame de La Rochefoucauld 'accompanies' her, and is her Lady-in-Waiting. Was it not here that she found the *dear cousin?* A strange life hers! In 1789, after her fall, when a balcony gave way under her feet, she was alone in this very place and sent for Hortense to take care of her: what was she then? And now, she has an equerry-in-waiting to support her at every step, a Prefect of the Palace to attend to her requirements, two Ladies of the Palace, five bedchamber women, a comptroller, and and how many lackeys, cooks, turn-spits, coachmen and stable-people! The posting-charges, going and returning, and drives in the neighbourhood amounted to 37,483 francs 50 centimes, and the total cost incurred for the Household of the Emperor only, amounted to 134,482 francs 97 centimes, for that 'saison d'eaux.' It was simply a 'saison d'eaux' and nothing more: no unusual amusements were included, no theatre, no singers, male or female, no distant excursions, no exceptional gratuities, no fancy purchases, no whims.

Joséphine resorted for amusement to having her portrait painted. At Plombières she met Laurent, several of whose pictures she had in her gallery: he was living at Epinal. Laurent was very much the fashion with amateurs of Madame Campan's kind: he excelled in troubadour subjects which he executed in small sizes, 'genre Miéris,' as the school-mistress expressed it. This portrait, full-length, 18 inches by 15, which cost the Empress 6,000 francs, constitutes a highly interesting document, precisely in virtue of its defects; it is as curious as the portrait of Jérôme, painted afterwards by the same artist, with Catherine.

With the exception of a few excursions, sitting for this portrait was the occupation of the day. Only two evening fêtes can be traced during the whole 'season;' and is it very certain that the Emperor would have approved of them? At Plombières certain ladies were taking the waters whom the Empress 'perceived' no doubt, but whom she ought not to have 'seen;' among others, Madame Hainguerlot (Mademoiselle Beauvais) who was undoubtedly one of the cleverest and most witty of the Parisian women; she wrote admirably—especially verse—but she was compromised, less by

herself than by her husband. This Haingnerlot, who was in Year IX the most chargeable ratepayer of the Republic,—he paid 35,000 francs on landed estates—had a quarrel in Year VI. with Lebrun, reporter in the famous affair of J.-B. Dijon and Company, in which he was the principal person interested. The Third Consul, Lebrun, immediately pointed out the couple, who were all the more dangerous in proportion as the wife was intellectual and agreeable, and the husband clever, elegant and refined.

They were placed on the Index in perpetuity, at least with the Emperor. But Madame Haingnerlot had not resigned herself to this : she went to Plombières, and took advantage of the meeting to compose a vaudeville "full of wit and sensibility," founded upon an incident illustrative of Her Majesty's beneficence, which had occurred in one of her preceding 'voyages;' she recruited a company, including the beautiful Madame Davillier; sent for the family who had received Her Majesty's bounty; organized a fête; had the Empress invited by all the ladies who were taking the waters,—and it was charming. A few days after, the Empress gave a concert, a ball and a supper; but that did these ladies no good : 'les eaux' did not constitute a precedent.

On her return Joséphine regained her former dignity. On her arrival at Bondy on the 30th of August (12 Fructidor), she found the Prefect and all the authorities waiting to salute her; she duly received the inevitable addresses; then, under escort of the gendarmes, she continued her route to Malmaison without passing through Paris.

At the period of Joséphine's last sojourn at Plombières her star was on the wane, the end was approaching, the inevitable separation against which she had fought for ten years was at last about to be accomplished. The outward show was still imposing, the Empress was still attended by the Gentleman-in-Waiting, General Ordener, a chamberlain, M. de Beaumont, and an equerry, M. de Monaco. There were two Ladies of the Palace, with the Lady-in-Waiting, the private secretary, and two pages. The number of servants, the stable, and the expenses, were all the same; presents were made on the same occasions and were equally sumptuous;

Her Majesty gave diamonds of the respective value of 1,200, 1,400, 3,500 and 4,000 francs to the pages whom the Emperor despatched to announce the stages of his journeys to her,—M. de Beaumont (fils), the younger Lariboisière, and the younger Oudinot. Having paused in her journey at Epinal and done Madame Doublat, whose husband was receiver-general, the honour of passing the night at her house, Joséphine presented her with a parure in enamelled gold and pearls which cost 1,400 francs; she also gave to the eldest daughter a neck-chain in links formed of real pearls and enamelled beads worth 550 francs, and to the other two children watches which cost 200 and 170 francs each. To the sub-Prefect, the post-master, and the captain of Cuirassiers in charge of the escort, the Empress gave snuff-boxes; she was equally generous to the soldiers of the guard for whose admission to the theatre she paid each week. The same shower of gold and silver fell on the poor whom she came across,—prisoners passing through, wounded, retired, and crippled soldiers, itinerant musicians, people who had some curiosity to exhibit; it was falling every day more or less,—now on a woman whose house was rebuilt for her, now on an aged American gentlewoman who appealed to Joséphine by the post, again on a woman whose property had been injured. She was followed in her drives also, when like a good fairy she would stop to speak to passers-by, go into a farmhouse to drink milk, and ask her way; and once she was so much interested in a peasant's household where they were celebrating a golden wedding, that she gave the husband a chased gold snuff-box worth 550 francs, and the wife a gold watch worth 377 francs. She remembered the names of people from her previous visits, and put them to the right faces; and strange to say, for such things were not likely to be found in her hands, she kept a supply of rosaries which she distributed to old people. But, looking at her home-life, and her associates, we are astonished: it was at this period deeply overcast with trouble; and it went on in its narrow groove, shared only with her daughter, her grandsons, her niece Stéphanie, and her waiting-women. No more balls, no more receptions, no more plays; a subscription to the Salon de Bains was the

only diversion provided for her suite; and she led this life with all those things about her which form a frame for the portrait of the woman, in the midst of the toilet utensils of silver and gold which she took with her everywhere, within hand-reach of jewels worth a king's ransom—thirty-five complete suits of diamonds, pearls, and coloured stones—in the midst of that preposterous wardrobe which she depleted of thirty-seven gowns all at once to give them to her waiting maids.

She was very motherly; never had her grandson, with whom Hortense was rather strict, enjoyed himself so thoroughly: she gave him his first watch, a double-cased gold one set in pearls, and two emerald rings; but what were these, compared with the toys which were ordered for him from Mussels of Strasburg? What charming toys, and what a pleasure to give him playthings so much better than the Paris toys, those shining carriages with four horses, berline-coupés, road-waggons, and especially the big warship in painted and varnished wood, and the innumerable boxes of soldiers,—all painted so bright and sure to charm the eye of a child!

Beyond unpacking the cases of toys, turning over her jewellery, inspecting her gowns, and taking hygienic drives with Hortense and Stéphanie, there was little for Joséphine to do. A few persons who were at Plombières visited the Empress, it is true; one of these was M. de Boufflers, the old M. de Boufflers who, no doubt, had come to Plombières less on account of his digestion than for the sake of his son, Elzéar de Sabran, whose exile he hoped to get revoked. He came, with quavering voice, his manners like those of an Abbé under the old régime, and long white hair, to read aloud ribald little stories—out of date, out of place in the mouth of an old man—echoes of the abolished time, which jarred like a blasphemy uttered upon a grave. There was also M. de Molé, in a fair way to 'arrive' at everything, for he pleased everybody: the women,—who appreciated him highly; the Emperor,—who, on account of his name and his one book, took him into favour, and made him a Councillor of State in three years; the Empress,—who desired that he should be Governor of her grandsons; and Queen Hortense,—who perhaps regarded him with a still warmer feeling.

The society of Plombières was, in fact, almost limited to these two names. There was no external display, nothing to be reported by the newspapers which were silenced by command : there is hardly a mention of the arrival, the departure, the return to Malmaison. No reception at the gates of Paris, no speeches, no gun-firing, nothing but a line added to the 'faits divers' of the 17th of August : "Her Majesty the Empress is expected this evening at Malmaison."

* * *

The foregoing may be said to be the philosophy of these three 'voyages' to 'les eaux:' they mark stages in the ascent of Joséphine,—they likewise mark her decline. They show us the Empress in the ordinary course of her private life, in her aimlessness and idleness, when she was not with the Emperor. But still, in order to reiterate and confirm this experience, we must contemplate her 'voyages' during the wars at the extremities of the Empire. Her position was more important at those periods from the point of view of State, and she retained her dignity as Empress, which was better maintained; but she is also interesting in this new light for other reasons.

Why did she leave Paris in 1805, in 1806, and in 1809, to take up her abode at Strasburg or at Mayence? Did the Emperor desire that she should not reside in the capital during his absence? Was she afraid of being led into doing anything imprudent! Was it not much more likely that she was firmly resolved not to leave the Emperor, not to allow herself to be separated from him, but to keep up the habit of life in common by her actual presence? No doubt it was that, and that only; for Napoleon did not wish her to accompany him to Mayence, and notwithstanding her urgent requests, he did not summon her to him either at Berlin in 1806, at Warsaw in 1807, or at Schœnbrünn in 1809. On the contrary, he told her repeatedly that she ought to hold her Court at Paris, promote custom for the traders there, give balls, and let herself be seen at the theatres;

for it was well and needful that Paris should suffer as little as possible by war. She did not go there, she stretched her tether, she invented pretexts, she clung to the places where she was, she was always hoping that the Emperor would summon her, she imagined that since she had gone half or a quarter of the way and was nearer by so much, Napoleon could not fail to send for her at some time or other, as he had done on former occasions; and in this state of restless anxiety, on this perpetual 'qui-vive,' she lived until the day came when a formal and positive command obliged her to return to Paris.

The first campaign, that of 1805, must be set apart. Then she was on the pinnacle,—her anxiety was relieved for the time. By accompanying the Emperor so far as Strasburg and taking up her own residence there, she was enabled to escape from the Parisian talk which disturbed her, the surveillance of her brothers-in-law, and the ennui of the Palace of Saint-Cloud. She was pleased to make a fresh display of State, and she felt so sure of victory that she now regarded the consequences of that victory,—namely, the marriage it would secure for her son, and the triumphal 'voyage' in new scenes for herself,—as certain.

The first sojourn at Strasburg, where she arrived after fifty-eight hours' travelling without a halt, was very like the sojourn at Aix-la-Chapelle, but even more busy and more luxurious. In the first place the dwelling of the Empress was a real palace,—the former episcopal palace beyond the Cathedral, which the first bishop of the house of Rohan, Armand Gaston, Cardinal and Grand Almoner, had rebuilt from the plans of the architect Massol. The new structure was finished in 1741; it was quite modern in its interior arrangements. The great portal, with pillars and balustrades decorated with groups and vases, between the two single-storied pavilions in front with their arched pediment, was very rich and handsome. Behind stands the palace, the ground-floor on the court-yard forming the first story of the other façade upon the Ill.

The edifice on that side,—with its three stories, its seventeen front

windows, the fore-building standing out with the support of four lofty columns and surmounted by a cupola-roof, the two pavilions, with their roofs attached to the central building by a rich balustrade adorned with vases—is truly worthy of such princes as the Rohans were, so refined in their taste, so magnificent in the State they kept, so justly ambitious to make their dwellings match with the grandeur of their life. This palace, used for the first time by Louis XV. in 1744, and in which Marie Antoinette the Dauphine dwelt awhile, was sold as national property in 1791, repurchased by the town for 129,000 livres, and made the seat of the municipal administration. When the Senatus consultum of Floréal, Year XIII., decreed that "imperial palaces shall be established at the four principal points of the Empire," Strasburg offered its palace. Without as yet formally accepting and ordering its erection into an imperial residence, the Emperor had virtually accepted the offer: from Boulogne he immediately gave orders to the Grand Marshal to despatch Fontaine to Strasburg so that the palace might be put in order to receive him. In less than a fortnight Fontaine had turned out the bureaux, the archives, even the prisoners who were still in the building; stopped the cleaning of the outside, for fear of the smell of paint, for they knew that the Emperor regarded that as "the worst of all things;" and succeeded in restoring and furnishing the apartments. Napoleon had assigned 60,000 francs for these works, Fontaine spent only half that sum; but for the furniture, taken from Strasburg, Nancy, Louisville and the neighbouring châteaux, he had been obliged to lay out 172,115 francs 60 centimes, and this was only provisional; Duroc had to send a quantity of things, including cooking utensils, at a cost of 15,000 francs; and the necessary plate, glass and linen were brought from Paris.

On the 1st Vendémiaire, Year XIV. (23rd September, 1805), all was ready; even the Baden stables and the stables of the breeding-stud were prepared to receive the horses and the whole of the 'service.'

The Emperor's apartment was on the court-yard, the entry by the left peristyle, the exit by the right; the suite consisted of the salon de



THE EMPEROR DECORATING OBERKAMPF AT THE MANUFACTORY OF JOUY-EN-JOSAS



service, study, bedroom, dressing-room and bath-room, behind, on the river terrace (the Ill), were the Grands Appartements, seven magnificent salons forming the first floor. Fourteen rooms were at the disposal of the Empress, on the first floor on the court-yard side, forming the second floor on the river-terrace side; but these rooms were inconvenient of approach, for the palace had been built for one chief personage only (the Cardinal), and the rest was divided into a great number of separate rooms for his suite. M. de Rémusat, who wanted to get Joséphine back to Paris, made difficulties about this, but Joséphine was satisfied.

The first four days were taken up with receptions, audiences, compliments, honours of all kinds which were not addressed to Joséphine, the Emperor being present; but he went away on the 9th Vendémiaire (1st of October), and Joséphine, remaining alone, settled down to her life. Bausset, who had charge of the material part, acquitted himself to admiration: in two months, from the first of October to the 29th of November, he paid, for the Kitchen 122,666 francs 73 centimes, for the Office, 19,027 francs, for the cellar, 41,998 francs; but dinners, balls and concerts had been going on continuously. First, the authorities of the department and eighty young ladies of the first families in Strasburg; then Marshal Kellermann and his staff; then the great deputation from the Tribunate, who were to have gone to the Emperor at his head-quarters with the army, received orders to remain at Strasburg and make a centre of society; then twenty-two ladies of the very highest standing in the town; after them the Mayors from Paris, who were going on to congratulate the Emperor; and, in proportion to the rising tide of his success, the arrival of the German princes: the Electoral Prince of Bavaria, the Princes of Baden, the Princes Hohenlohe, the Hereditary Prince of Hesse-Darmstadt. All who were going from France to the army passed through Strasburg and presented their respects; all who were in Germany, but within reach, were then trying hard to gain Joséphine's good-will. Joséphine was well pleased to receive these attentions; she did not miss any ceremony; she remained to the end at her own balls; she had polite and kind things to

say to everybody: and whether the fête were given in honour of the taking of Ulm or the presence of the German princes, she was equally gracious, and her sweet way of smiling at the young people who were dancing won all hearts. Never had Strasburg seen such brilliant balls or so numerous an orchestra. It cost the Empress 1,014 francs, and that was more than the whole town spent in ten years. And those balls were not restricted to the Court only: the 'society' of the town, ladies and girls who had been presented—the number increased day by day—the officers, the members of the Tribunate, the young men of the guard-of-honour, received some of the five hundred and fifty invitations which were printed expressly by Eck. The young men of the guard came in for more than a ball: having presented a model of the Cathedral in silver to Her Majesty, some of them were immediately invited to dinner!

The concerts gave even greater pleasure, for,—only think of it!—the Empress was not content with summoning singers like Mademoiselle Gervasio and Mademoiselle Delihu to amuse her, and making each of them a present of one hundred louis; she sent for Spontini to execute pieces of his own composition before her. With Spontini she gave her guests a foretaste of *La Vestale;* she also had an *O Salutaris* executed in her chapel, which he had composed expressly, and was so pleased with it that she bespoke a *Domine Salvum*. She gave him for his journey 1,800 francs; but she did better still, for it was she who, almost in spite of the Emperor, obtained a 'tour de faveur' for the representation of *La Vestale*. Thenceforth, it might be said that Spontini was immortal.

The Empress did not therefore slight the French and German theatres. She was sufficiently pleased at the French theatre—where the Prefect's box was freshly fitted up for her—to send a present of 1,200 francs to the manager of the company, and 300 francs to the orchestra; and although she did not understand the language, she made Vogel, the manager of the theatre, a similar present. It was carefully noted that, whenever the Empress went to either theatre, she remained, as she did at the balls, to the end.

Not only did the Empress associate herself thus with the pleasures of

the town and even associate the town with her amusements, she mingled with society, and indeed united herself to it by a curious bond of fraternity. There existed at the Orient of Strasburg a lodge of 'francs chevaliers' who, on the occasion of the Emperor's sojourn, held a lodge of admission under the direction of Madame de Dietrich, titular grand mistress; Joséphine presided. Was she then 'initiated?' Who was not, in her time? Three princesses, the Duchesse de Bourbon, the Duchesse de Chartres and the Princesse de Lamballe were the first admitted (1777) by the lodge of 'La Candeur:' and did they not draw all the ladies of the Court, and the city after them? At any rate Joséphine joined in the 'work' of the lodge like an associate; it was she herself who proposed Madame de Canisy among her Ladies of the Palace, as a neophyte, and had her received. The whole town took part in the solemnity; the result was that the Empress became exceedingly popular among the brethren all over the world. Two lodges, one O.·. of Paris, the other O.·. of Milan, took her name and claimed her patronage.

The coming of Joséphine was a joy to whomsoever sold things, or made things: she bought his drawings from Zix; his cut-out pictures from Vallet, formerly an actor; specimens of his turnery-work from one Holtzapffel; from one Lanfrey, large china figures which she considered were superior to the vases which the Queen of Prussia presented to her, having had them decorated with views of Malmaison at the Berlin porcelain manufactory, and sent by Councillor Rosenstiel. She bought bonbons, seeds, plants, live animals, toys; a shower of money fell continuously through her hands on all who approached her. The 'housekeeping' alone for this 'voyage' set one hundred thousand francs in circulation in Strasburg, and, with what the Empress spent and caused to be expended, this sum rapidly rose to a million. Naturally Strasburg was very anxious to keep her all the winter, and desirous that she should be pleased with the town; so that when she received the Emperor's authorization to go forward into Germany, there was general grief: but for her it was great joy.

Was not that triumphal journey from Carlsruhe to Stuttgart, and to

Munich,—that 'voyage' during which the Emperor instructed her that "she must be kind, but is to receive homage from all, for everything is due to her and nothing is due from her but through favour,"—enough to fill the least vain of women with pride? What! not only compared with, but superior, and by how much, to the Margravines and the Electresses, those princesses of England, Austria, Hesse, Nassau, Saxony, Baden! "The Electress of Wurtemberg is a daughter of the King of England," wrote the Emperor, "she is a good woman, you must treat her well, without affectation however."

And was it nothing for "the little Creole," as Napoleon said, to travel through all Germany with a cortège such as any queen would have envied! Gentleman-in-Waiting, Lady-in-Waiting, four Ladies of the Palace, four chamberlains, two equerries, a world of attendants and servants; and thus to go to meet the Conqueror in whom she knows she still has, if not a passionate lover such as he was in the days of Italy, at least a most tender companion, very desirous to rejoin her "as soon as his affairs will permit." If ever correspondence from husband to wife was intimate and frequent, if ever the continuity and permanence of affection were marked, surely it is in those letters written by Napoleon to his wife almost every day during the Campaign of Year XIV. And we have not got them all; we are not sure whether they have all been published.

"My Joséphine. . . My good Joséphine. . . I love you. . . I embrace you. . . I long to see you. . . You must be cheerful, amuse yourself, and hope that we shall meet again before the end of the month. The moment it is possible you shall come to me. . . I long to embrace you. . . I long to see you again." And at every halt, from every bivouac, from every field of battle, he sends just such a letter, not burning and raving like the letters of eight years ago, but revealing sincere desire to be with her again, real need to have her with him, joy in the thought of seeing her once more, the companion, the 'indissoluble' friend, the indispensable confidant. He certainly did not tell her anything relative to his political or military affairs, but he told her all about his troubles with his health, the toil and fatigue he endured, the satisfaction he expected; everything

that was within her domain and attached to her prerogative of tenderness and petting. Had not Joséphine a right to exult in those letters, and was it not quite natural that when she showed them, and when she sent them to her daughter, she should desire to have them returned to her to be kept as her best treasure? And was it not right that she should give them to be read, as a proof of how much she was beloved?

We now come to the second 'voyage.' It is the 7th Frimaire (28th of November), and the Empress starts early : eight sub-officers precede the carriages, the mounted guard-of-honour forms the escort; the foot guard-of-honour lines the way to the bridge of Kehl with picked companies of the National Guard. At the departure, guns; all along the road, cheers. At the extreme frontier—the entry to Kehl—the Strasburg authorities, coach-horses sent by the Elector, and a strong detachment of Baden hussars, await her arrival; but the Strasburg guard-of-honour, who are deeply impressed by the kindness with which the Empress has treated them during her stay—she has just given a proof of it to a wounded comrade of theirs—remain with the escort until the cavalcade has reached Bischoffs-heim, three leagues from Kehl.

The two equerries and the Elector of Baden's two hundred hussars are not enough; at Rastadt comes the Electoral Prince, at Muhlburg the Margrave Louis, to greet the Empress and join her cortège ; and that cortège passes under triumphal arches, and at almost every step meets temples bearing a *Salve* on their pediments, or inside, the bust of the day-god Napoleon erected upon a pedestal rising from a bed of verdure. Upon a column a hundred feet high she reads : *Josephinæ, Galliarum Augustæ;* and when she enters Carlsruhe, at six o'clock in the evening, amid salvos of artillery and the clash of bells, she finds the Elector, the Margraves and all their Court at the grand entrance in the courtyard of the illuminated château. That evening, reception and gala ; next day, after a drive in the town and to the environs, and the obligatory visit to the Pheasantry, a grand concert—almost all the ladies are dressed in the French style; afterwards a reception. On the 9th Frimaire

(30th of November), the start for Stuttgart: cannon again, bells again, the Baden escort, eight horses for the Empress's coach, and fifty-four other post-horses for the nine carriages. At the frontier of Würtemberg, the Grand Marshal of the Court and the Grand Equerry; farther on, the Electoral Prince and Prince Paul. Night falls, torches are lighted, the way lies between fires of brush-wood burning on either side of the road. At the gate of Stuttgart, which is reached at seven o'clock, the Town Council is in attendance, guns, bells, soldiers stiff with cold and discipline keep the way; in the Hoch Strasse are Egyptian altars, lighted up; the Electoral Family receive the Empress at the door of the Palace, and accompany her to her apartment, where, at last, she has her supper, alone. The next day (Sunday), Mass in the Apartments, visits, presentations, a great dinner in the White Hall; Joséphine, on an estrade under a dais, with the Electoral Family; on a lower level two tables with covers laid for two hundred persons; facing these a band; after dinner, the Opera, *Achille*, by Paër, and fireworks. On the next day, visits to Louisburg and Mon Repos, and in the evening Zingarelli's *Roméo et Juliette*. On the 3rd of December (12th Frimaire), the start is made at seven o'clock in the morning, with the same ceremonies; the Electress is adorned with all her diamonds (doubtless she has slept in them), and all the Princes are in full uniform; there is breakfast at the Château de Greppingen; and all the way to the frontier of Bavaria the same triumphal arches, salutations and speeches. In Bavaria Joséphine was almost in France: the first stop for the night is at Ulm, and there Augereau is in command. The French escort is no longer composed of the eight sub-officers who precede the carriages, but it includes French cavalry, together with the cavalry of Würtemberg and Ulm. Augereau has prepared a grand review and a splendid fête for the evening; but Joséphine, worn out by headache, takes advantage of being in France, and retires to bed. The following morning a move has to be made, the destination is Augsburg, where the Empress receives the Bishop; and then from Augsburg a route of triumphal arches, bands in proximity so close that their sounds

mingle, a cortege increased at each village by fresh guards-of-honour, for escort the cavalry of the Garde Royale of Italy, and at the gates of Munich the celebrated Court carriages, which are justly regarded as masterpieces of painting and sculpture. But Joséphine does not use one of these; she remains in her travelling-carriage, "and her entry is none the less brilliant."

From (14th Frimaire) to the 31st of December (10th Nivose), the Empress awaited Napoleon's arrival at Munich, where the same fêtes, presentations, receptions, drives and operas filled up her time. How tiring it all was, and what a dreary thing over-amusement becomes at last! Joséphine had not an instant to call her own, no longer a minute to write to the Emperor, who complains prettily that "the grand fêtes of Strasburg, Stuttgart and Munich cause poor soldiers who live covered with mud, rain and blood to be forgotten." Nine days afterwards he recalls his wife to realities in a jesting way very unusual with him: "Great Empress," he writes, "deign, from the height of your greatness, to take a little notice of your slaves."

But, in truth, how was she to find time for writing? Was she not obliged at every station to make acquaintance with the princely families, to receive and return visits, to interest herself in everybody, to let the Court people be presented to her, to dress and re-dress herself, varying her toilets and her costumes according to hours and occasions; to dine, to sup, to drive out, to be present at the Opera, all the time in full State, and without an instant's solitude: had she not herself to regulate the presents, not only for the gentlemen and ladies who were appointed to attend upon her, but for the princes and princesses? She carried with her a whole shopful of dress-pieces, shawls, millinery of all sorts; the "corbeille" intended for the Princess of Saxe Hildburghausen, who had just married the second son of the Elector of Würtemberg; and 45,000 francs' worth of Leroy's finery; half of this she left at Stuttgart, the rest was for presents to the daughters of the Elector of Bavaria. The stock gave out, and Joséphine put her own wardrobe under contribution: she placed the first cachemire that lady had ever possessed on the shoulders of the Electress of Bavaria.

Joséphine had brought 80,160 francs' worth of diamonds and trinkets with her; and so well had she disposed of these that the Emperor had to supply the presents on his arrival at Munich. From her hands, and from those of her First Equerry and her Lady-in-Waiting, there fell all along her route showers of gold, pearls, diamonds and other gems: 57,460 francs' worth distributed by d'Harville, 12,000 francs' worth by Madame de La Rochefoucauld, 9,000 francs' worth by the Empress herself. When her purse was empty, she took 100 louis out of Ballouhey's, and all they had in their pockets from the equerries, the chamberlains, the ushers, the waiting-women: a sum of eighty thousand francs. And was not this the best way to establish herself securely in her imperial rank, to ensure lasting renown for her 'voyage,' and place herself beyond the reach of comparison with any other in the past and for the future?

It was not only gold and jewels that she carried with her everywhere, it was her exquisite elegance, it was the smile that never left her lips, even when she was suffering most severely from headache, it was the ever gracious smile for the people who greeted her with acclamation, it was the gift of her glance that went with the gift of her hand. So long was that held in remembrance, that, nearly a century after her passage through their country, the Swabian peasants preserve the tradition of it which they received from their fathers; they know the story of her 'voyage,' and picture Joséphine like a queen of the fairies, the fairy of pearls and diamonds, wearing a mantle the colour of the dawn and a robe the colour of the sun.

By her and with her, more effectually than with guns and battles, the Emperor conquered Germany. She had no notion that she was doing political business when she adorned herself with exquisite taste and splendour for the fêtes of the Electors. And yet, from the first stage, the ladies "dressed themselves in the French style" to please her and to be in tune with her. At Stuttgart, it was more difficult to effect such a conversion: the Elector looked to his purse; women pleased his taste only when in full Court-dress from the morning; it did not concern

him that his Court was a century or two behind the fashion, that was all the better 'genre' and all the more 'Vieille-cour;' and the covetous looks cast by the Electress upon the toilets by Leroy did not induce him to increase his budget. Nevertheless the 'corbeille' presented to the Princess Paul was a seed which took root and brought forth fruit in after-days. As for Munich, unmistakeable victory was won there from the very first, for the Electress was very fond of dress, very pretty, and her step-daughters were beauties of renown at the 'cercles.' This was no trifling advantage to Joséphine in the approaching negotiation of the marriage of Eugène—a much more difficult negotiation than might be supposed.

Joséphine passed nearly a month at the Court of Bavaria, hoping for the arrival of the Emperor, from the 14th Frimaire (5th December), to the 10th Nivôse (31st December); and all the time this marriage was the main point of interest, the knot of the drama that was being acted, with scenery and decorations consisting of banquets, operas, promenades and excursions, to the accompaniment of kettle-drums and trumpets saluting the Empress. And she, without any appearance of an object, but with an air of unconsciousness, obtained information and guessed what she did not know. The prolongation of her stay was very useful. Besides, the weather was too cold for her to go on to Schoenbrünn, and she was ill, indeed rather seriously ill, from the fatigue she had encountered.

On the arrival of the Emperor she retired in a measure into the suite; nevertheless her fortune was at its utmost height at that moment when her son, adopted by the Emperor, married, by means of the Emperor, the Princess of Bavaria, exchanged the name of Bavaria for that of France, and received the promise of the kingdom of Italy. Never could she have felt the future so secure, and herself so certain of having averted the evil spell at last.

The following year, when, having set out with the Emperor in the night of the 24th-25th of September, 1806, and travelled through France without a pause, save for a few hours at Metz, she finds herself settle

at the Teutonic Palace, she is not so sure of final success, she does not rejoice so much in victory, she feels a dread of that war, that terrible war, always recommencing, no battle ever giving the final mastery. And her depression is shared by the Emperor. He cannot tear himself from the arms of his wife; he weeps; there is in him as it were a physical revolt against leaving those whom he loves.

The Emperor is gone, the Ladies of the Palace have arrived: Madame de La Rochefoucauld, Mesdames d'Arberg, de Turenne and de Montmorency. How keenly must Joséphine suffer from constantly hearing the Prussian army praised and the successes of the French denied! Neither M. de Rémusat, nor M. de Béarn, nor M. Dumanoir, nor even the worthy Ordener, can cheer her up, or put heart into her. Talleyrand tries, a little; and it might have been expected that the coming of Stéphanie, and especially of Hortense with her two sons, would dispel her gloom; but no, she passes her time in tears. "I do not understand why you weep," writes the Emperor, on the 5th of October; and a month later, on the 1st of November, it is still the same: "Talleyrand has just arrived," writes Napoleon, and he tells me that you do nothing but cry. What do you want then? You have your daughter, your grandsons, and good news; there is enough in this to make you content and happy." Nothing avails, however, and for the three months' duration of this 'voyage' she is under the spell of an invincible dread, an inexplicable sadness, an anxiety, unwarrantable as yet, but arising from the strange and vague presentiments of disaster that haunt such summits as those Joséphine had reached. What has she read in the familiar cards which have already told her many secrets? Every evening, after her game of whist, while dancing and charades are in progress in the adjoining salon, she tells fortunes by the cards. One evening, while she is doing this, as usual, she cries out: "Great news! An incredible victory!" She takes up the cards again: "Another victory; it is so splendid that we must stop there." And, amid the continued sound of the dancing of the young people, an usher throws open both leaves of the



A HUNTING-PARTY AT FONTAINEBLEAU

Drawing by Carle Vernet



door and announces a page from the Emperor. Armand de Lespinay, first page, all splashed with mud, enters, places on his hat a note merely folded, no cover, and on bended knee presents it to the Empress; it is written from Jena: "My dear Joséphine, we have joined the Prussian army; it no longer exists. I am well and press you to my heart." Joséphine, addressing the person who had cut her cards for her, says: "Well, now will you believe in my cards?"

But did she afterwards see anything in those cards that touched, threatened, terrified her? There is no apparent reason for her ceaseless tears, no motive, not even a pretext. There is no lack of princes from the north eager to pay their court to her; now, as there were princes from the south at Strasburg, the tide of homage still flows: the Grand Duchess of Hesse-Darmstadt, the Princess of Nassau, the reigning Duchess of Saxe Gotha, the Prince of Schwartzburg-Sondershausen, the Princess of Hohenlohe, the Margrave of Hesse-Rothemburg, the Princes of Leyen and Lippe, the Hereditary Prince of Saxe-Weimar: what does it matter to her? She is most amiable to them, of course, she looks very kind and gracious, she invites them to dinner; but it is not their presence she desires, she has had enough of that sort of pleasure.

The great Salle de Manège of the riding-school had been transformed into a theatre; she goes there once to inaugurate it, listens without attention to the dull verses recited in her honour, and does not go again. She is taken to visit the neighbouring places; she hardly looks at the Prince of Nassau's conservatories in beautiful Biberich; her daughter and her niece bring her there one evening to dinner, but she is bored by the ball, the illuminated château, even by the garden sloping down to the Rhine, all spangled with lights and reddened by the reflection of the fireworks. At Frankfort, whither she goes to return the visit of the Prince Primate, she receives the homage that is paid to her graciously; she says graceful things à-propos of the fine dinners, the operas of *Titus* and *Le Sacrifice Interrompu*; she bestows just praise upon the appearance of the Garde Bourgeoise; she smiles at the cheers; she bows her

acknowledgments for the enthusiastic welcome; she forgets no one in her distribution of presents. With a grace of manner entirely her own, she presents the Marshal of the Court with a snuff-box worth 7,200 francs, with the letters J N in diamonds on the lid; she has set apart snuff-boxes for the two Chamberlains; canes, each set with seven brilliants, for the Colonel of the Guard, for the Comptroller, for the quarter-master of the Household, the house-steward and the decorator of the tables; she has selected watches for the Colonel of the mounted guard, the valets de chambre, and the Inspector of the Watch; she has not omitted to present Monseigneur the Bishop with a ring of opal set in diamonds. To Mademoiselle de la Leyen, the niece of the Prince Primate, as though she even then contemplated the marriage for her which she arranged three years later, she presents a watch with a medallion in brilliants worth 3,000 francs. But neither the acclamations of the people of Frankfort, nor the promenades, nor the fine sights, nor the concerts which her two singers and the celebrated violinist Boucher gave her on her return to Mayence, can soothe her distress, nothing can alleviate her sadness, nothing can diminish her intense yearning to be sent for by the Emperor, to rejoin him, to hold him fast, to make sure that she shall not lose him.

By every post she begs for this, by every post he puts off the journey; at first there is no doubt that he wishes her to come to him, and he shows it; but, although he is sincere, he does not make up his mind and, for nearly three months, he keeps her in constant suspense. Let us see what he writes. On the 2nd of November, it is this: "Nothing is wanting to me now but the pleasure of seeing you again; but I hope that will not long be delayed;" on the 16th of November: "If the journey were not so long, you might come so far as this. I will wait for what you think of it;" on the 22nd of November: "I will decide in a few days either to send for you here or to send you back to Paris;" on the 26th of November: "I will see in two days if you are to come. You may make ready;" on the 27th of November: "I shall

be at Posen this evening. After that I shall send for you to come to Berlin, so that you may arrive on the same day as myself;' on the 3rd of December: "I hope to send for you in a few days, but it must be as events will have it." And the same thing on the 10th, the 12th, the 15th, the 20th of December: "I hope in five or six days to be able to send for you."

Then the newspapers, which take so little notice of Joséphine, and are so discreet in all concerning the life she leads, naturally announce her departure for Berlin at all the posts. Five times this news is inserted, and as often withdrawn. The Empress does not give it up, she insists, she clings to her idea; failing Berlin she will go to Fulda; at any rate she will not leave Mayence. She is not comfortable there, everybody about her is discontented, she sees none but sullen faces, and hears sighs which are not even disguised as yawns. Madame de La Rochefoucauld, in her exasperation with Mayence, gives loose to her tongue against the Empress, the Emperor, and especially France. This comes to Napoleon's knowledge. "Madame L....," he writes, "is so stupid a fool that you ought to know it, and pay no attention to her." Joséphine seemed not to understand. He returned to the matter by the next post. "The person of whom I wished to speak to you is Madame L.... of whom everybody speaks very ill. I am assured that she was more Prussian than French. I do not believe it, but I take her for a fool who talks nothing but nonsense." And on the same theme: "I shrug my shoulders at the folly of Madame de L...., you ought, however, to be angry and advise her not to be so foolish. It gets known by the public and shocks people. As for me, I despise ingratitude as the meanest fault of the heart. I know that, instead of consoling you, they have hurt you." At last, as it had become insupportable, he wrote: "Send away these ladies who have affairs of their own. You will be the better for getting rid of people who must have wearied you much."

This shows plainly enough the state of the Court, the anarchy that reigned there, and how incapable Joséphine was of exacting respect and defending herself even against her attendants.

It is true that her chief enemy was her Lady-in-Waiting,—she who

ought to have supported her most firmly; and that the worthy Ordener was of all men the least fitted for the task which had been assigned him by Napoleon. She was living in idleness—always a bad counsellor; no useful, disinterested advice came from any quarter to strengthen her, to prevent her from making mistakes, and urge her to maintain her dignity.

So there she stayed on and on at Mayence, always awaiting the sign she had been hoping for so long—two whole months. But Napoleon, who had arrived and installed himself at Warsaw did not want her to rejoin him; on the 3rd of January he wrote to her: "I am of opinion that you should return to Paris, where you are wanted;" on the 7th, much more sharply: "Go back to Paris to pass the winter there. Go to the Tuileries, and lead the same life that you are in the habit of leading when I am there. *This is my will.*" The next day: "I had begged you to go back to Paris. Paris calls for you. Go there. It is my desire." And he reiterated the order or the desire, on the 11th, the 16th, the 18th,—oftener no doubt! It was not until the letter of the 18th arrived that Joséphine made up her mind. "If you go on weeping I shall think you have neither firmness nor spirit. I do not like cowards. An Empress ought to have courage." Go she must then; no doubt the Emperor knew that after the year of fat kine, 1804, Paris would not patiently accept the year of lean kine, 1806, in succession to the close-fisted year, 1805: two winters in succession without a resident Court, without fêtes, without balls, without receptions, made things hard for the shopkeepers. By order the princesses of the blood and the princes of the Empire had opened their houses; but there was a plentiful lack of dancing men, and it had actually been necessary to raise a conscription of pages at Saint-Cloud for the High Chancellor's balls.

This was Napoleon's alleged motive, but there were others which Joséphine's instinctive jealousy of "the belles of Great Poland" suggested to her.

Before she left Mayence the Empress distributed her gifts: the Prefect Jean-Bon-Saint-André received a handsome snuff-box in enamelled gold with the imperial initials in brilliants (black tortoiseshell lined with gold

with ciphers in brilliants, *Convention* style); the Bishop an enamelled gold snuff-box, not quite so handsome; then the Mayor, and the doctor from Wiesbaden—she would not have been herself if she had not profited by the opportunity of taking the waters; the Postmaster and the head of the Customs,—each had a snuff-box according to his grade. For Marshal Kellermann a special box was provided, with portraits of the Emperor and the Empress painted by M. Parent, in a circle of brilliants. There was also a parure in cameos for Madame Lorge, the general's wife; a very ordinary one in mosaic on a blue ground for the Princess of Hohenzollern; and three more, all trumpery, for Madame Jolivet and Madame Dibelius, and for the daughter of the head master of the College. That was all. No Guard-of-honour, no bevy of young girls with a parting compliment, nothing, after this long stay of four months, to denote habits contracted, and relations formed, nothing resembling what there was at Strasburg the year before. Jean-Bon-Saint-André awaited the Empress at Gemersheim, where she passed the night, and from thence she proceeded to Strasburg. On arriving she accepted a fête improvised by the Prefect Shée: set out again for Bar-sur-Ornain, where she stayed for the night at the house of Madame Oudinot, to whom she gave a parure of dark cornelian intaglios with golden oak-leaf settings worth 1,600 francs. There was a reception of young people from the town bringing flowers, and two little locket watches were given. Yet another halt at Épernay before Paris was reached, at the house of Madame Moët, who received for her trouble a parure in oriental shells enriched with pearls worth 1,050 francs; and the Mayor's daughter, for her 'compliment,' a little parure in white shells. At length, the cavalcade came to the department of the Seine, and on the border were the Prefect and the authorities; thanks to them the Empress did not arrive at the Tuileries until a quarter before eight. Next day, three salvos of artillery; four days later all the authorities pay their compliments; then, life is taken up as though the Emperor were present, with Mass on Sundays, diplomatic 'cercles,' presentations of foreigners, both gentlemen and ladies, grand performances at the Opera, even private balls,

visits to manufactories and monuments, hearing the performance of pupils at the Conservatoire, and a day or two in each week at Malmaison, with company on whom the Emperor keeps a vigilant eye, and from whose ranks he pitilessly expels black sheep. As usual Joséphine's fête—St. Joseph's day—was celebrated at Malmaison, and the princesses Caroline and Pauline came to recite and sing little pieces by Allissan de Chazet and Longchamps with Mesdames Ney, Lavallette and Junot, and MM. de Brigode, Junot, d'Angosse and de Montbreton. It was dull, in spite of the verses; and the Empress, although she did her best to appear happy, was restless and agitated as though she felt misfortune threatening her.

And the misfortune came. The little Napoleon, the eldest son of Louis and Hortense, the child whom the Emperor preferred, whom he had nominated three years previously as his successor, was seized with croup, and died within two days at the Hague. He died on the 5th of May, a strange coincidence! On the 8th the news reached Paris, but Joséphine, who had been at Saint-Cloud since the 6th, dared not leave France without the authorization of the Emperor. Besides, she was ill, and had been blistered at the back of the neck. It was not until the 10th, after a council of the dignitaries had been held and Cambacérès took it upon himself to authorize the journey, that she set out incognito with a suite consisting only of a lady, a chamberlain, an equerry, the physician on duty, a first valet de chambre, and a dresser. She proceeded to Laeken, and there she was joined by Hortense, whom she brought back with her to Malmaison.

Had Joséphine no good reason for disquiet of mind, and was not this the terminating point of her fortunes?

The approaching discussion at Tilsit, and the projects about to be formed there, meant for her repudiation, dethronement, desertion, sooner or later. For two years after this date she was tossed to and fro; Napoleon could not arrive at a final resolution; there was always some part of his work that he wanted to finish before that decisive separation, which wrung his heart, should be effected. She knew her danger, she

was in anxiety and distress, yet sometimes she would take courage, but she looked out for every indication, watched every word. The Emperor set out for the war with Austria; he wished Josephine to remain in Paris. With great difficulty she got leave to accompany him to Strasburg, and wait for him there. This time there were no more fetes or theatres, and hardly any visits from German Princes and Princesses, with the exception of the Badeners, who made a merely formal appearance. The Empress found her own family at Strasburg: Hortense,—at open war with her husband and not knowing whither to go; Stéphanie,—who was trying to escape from her step-family; Catherine,—who had just been driven out of her States by the insurrection, and had left Cassel without luggage, suite, or servants, to take refuge at Strasburg. Whom besides? two Polish ladies, Madame Krasinska, *née* Radziwill, wife of the Colonel of the Chevau-Legers, and Madame Lubienska, *née* Comtesse Ossolinska, wife of a Cavalry Major,—these two ladies belonging to the 'voyage,' were lodged in the Palace and shared the private life of the Empress, by the same rights as Madame de La Rochefoucauld, who absented herself as much as she could, and disappeared before the end,—Madame de Serrant, Madame Devaux, and four men, Ordener, Beaumont, Monaco and Deschamps.

Queen Hortense had no woman with her except Madame de Boubers, her son's governess; Stéphanie and Catherine had their German women.

The principal society, with the exception of the Duchesse de Courlande who had just married her daughter to M. Edmond de Périgord at Frankfort, consisted of Strasburg ladies, Madame Mathieu-Faviers, wife of the Ordonnateur en chef, who was in great favour, and lent her horses to the Empress at first; the wife of general Walther, and Madame Shée, the Prefect's wife, who was not a frequent visitor; perhaps Madame Brice-Montigny, wife of the Governor of the Palace; but this did not signify. Walks in the Botanic Gardens and the Orangerie Josephine; a few visits to the principal monuments, for which Joséphine cannot have cared much, as it was not until the 6th of June, in this her fourth sojourn, that she went for the first time to see the tomb of Marshal Saxe; and drives in the neigh-

bourhood of the city, without ever crossing the Rhine—for it required the express authorization of the Emperor to go out of the Empire, and he would never allow Joséphine to go even to the Baden Waters—made up her life.

Suddenly there came news of a victory, but it was Ratisbon : the Emperor was wounded. He did not want to write to his wife on the instant, so he merely sent her word "that he had a bilious attack;" but she came to know the truth and was doubly anxious. Then the Emperor himself tried to reassure her : "The ball that touched me did not wound me," he writes, "it hardly grazed the tendon Achilles." Even the entry into Vienna, which Colonel Guéhéneuc came to announce, did not rouse her ; the enthusiasm of the town, the serenade given by the Guard-of-honour below the terrace of the Palace on illuminated boats, the improvised fireworks, and the pleasure of the country-people, failed equally.

She did all that she ought to do : she sent fifty napoleons to the musicians, she accepted the fête which the town wished to give in her honour; but when she passed, on the 29th of May, to the Robertsau Orangerie, through the illuminated avenues, and while she was going through the ordeal of concert, fireworks, ball, and holding a reception with the perfect grace and kindliness that won every heart, she was well aware that after the indecisive day of the 21st, victory had been faithless on the 22nd, that, at Essling, the Emperor had had to retire—the cause did not matter—and that he had escaped from utter disaster solely by the amazing stand made by Masséna.

She even lost her customary reserve, she forgot all prudence. She sent to Metternich, as he was getting out of his carriage at Strasburg, to be exchanged for the French Ambassador, to come to her at once. "I found her," he says, "very anxious about the consequences that the event in question might entail. She made me acquainted with what she had learned, and I no longer entertained any doubt of the importance of the defeat. The details were so precise as to position, that Joséphine was sure I should find negotiations in progress on my reaching Vienna. The Empress even admitted that I might meet Napoleon on his way back to France." She had been in political life for thirteen years, for nine she



MARRIAGE OF PRINCE EUGENE AT MUNICH

Picture by Morgagni.



had been the wife of the master of France, and she actually did this thing,—this was the person in whom she confided! The Emperor evidently did well to keep foreign diplomatists out of the private life of his Court.

To complete the picture, the Duchesse de Montebello arrived at Strasburg, having left Paris immediately on hearing that Marshal Lannes was wounded. She only waited to change horses at the Maison-Rouge, did not take time to go to the Palace, and Joséphine went to see her at the inn!

The Emperor beaten, Lannes dying: this was not yet certain, but she feels that everything is at stake for her. Not once since his departure has Napoleon thought of summoning her to him. His letters were few, short, cold, and contain news only. No effusiveness, no tenderness, a formal "tout à toi" only. No encouragement, not a caressing phrase. It is over, and she dare not even ask leave to rejoin him, she, so pressing in former years, so sure that he would be pleased. Timidly she asks permission to go to Baden and she is refused; Plombières is granted to her. But she would have gone to hide herself, no matter where, she no longer cared, only she could not bear the life of 'representation' that she was obliged to lead at Strasburg. On receiving the partially reassuring news of the junction of the Army of Italy, she disappeared, to bury herself at Plombières; there at least she might weep unseen.

* * *

This brief summary of the imperial 'voyages' during the campaigns, completes what we have seen of the sojourns 'aux eaux,' gives the whole physiognomy of the four years, shows the gradual deposition of the Empress and each step of her descent; but, that we may have an adequate notion of her life, it is necessary to give a rapid sketch of the 'voyages' in which she accompanied the Emperor.

The narrative of the triumphal return from Aix-la-Chapelle conveys a general idea of the incidents of them all.

In 1805 there was the 'voyage d'Italie'; from this she returned so

knocked-up that her swollen feet could not be got into her shoes, and she had to do a 'cure' of a whole month's duration at Plombières. In 1806 there was the return from Munich—nothing to note. In 1807 the Emperor set out for Italy in mid-winter, but refused to take her with him : she was greatly grieved by this, but she would have certainly lost her life in crossing Mount Cenis, where Napoleon and his companions narrowly escaped death. In 1808 there was the Bayonne 'voyage' from the 2nd of April to the 14th of August.

Nearly three months of the four and a half were spent at Marrac, in the miserable little château, where the Emperor and the Empress each had five rooms on the ground-floor, but where their attendants were crammed into thirteen rooms or dark closets anyhow,—Meneval, Bacler d'Albe, one of the great officers, the Emperor's wardrobe-keeper, a valet de chambre, Madame Gazzani, Madame de Montmorency, four waiting-maids, two valets de chambre, and four cooks. Flies were ubiquitous and in such numbers that to yawn was to swallow one. Yet the life was pleasant enough in its tranquillity, from the relaxation of etiquette; and especially to Joséphine, because of her belief in her restoration to favour. But the journey lasted from the 21st of July to the 14th of August; to avoid the heat the Emperor arranged to arrive at the towns where he meant to make a halt, at eight or nine a.m.; the start had therefore to be made in the morning or the preceding evening according to the distance.

The cortège was composed of a servants' carriage drawn by four horses for the valets de chambre, two carriages and six for the ladies and the officers, the Emperor's carriage with eight horses, a barouche and four for the Cabinet, and a carriage and four for the cooks. The rest of the household preceded or followed, at intervals of twelve hours, with ten carriages each drawn by six horses, fourteen carriages by four, and seven carriages by three. Before the Emperor, rode an equerry, a page, three sub-officers, a piqueur and three couriers. Brigades of saddle and harness horses had been sent beforehand into each town, with pages, sub-officers, a squad of gendarmes and a greater or less number of Polish

Chevau Legers for escort. Everything was seen and provided for, everything was regulated to the day, to the hour, to the minute, and for the twenty-five days! Prefects and Mayors were informed at a fixed date, the towns were ready with their fêtes, and the people flocked in. No pauses were possible, Joséphine must not be ill, she must not have a headache, she could not venture to fail in appearing at the appointed hour in the correct attire, with a smile on her lips, graciousness in every tone, and grace in every movement of her beautiful hands. Pau on the 22nd, then Tarbes, Auch, Toulouse for four days, Montauban, Agen, Bordeaux, Saintes, Rochefort, Niort, Fontenay, Napoleon, Nantes, Paimbœuf, Angers, Tours, Blois,—this was the route; but these were not sleeping places. From Marrac the cavalcade set out for Pau (Gelos) at nine o'clock in the evening, from Montauban for Agen at six, from Agen to Bordeaux at seven, travelling all through the night, and on imaginary roads, at least between Bayonne, Tarbes and Auch; and on arriving exhausted, 'rone' as the expression was, what then? Then the entry, the keys, triumphal arches, speeches, guards-of-honour, and from the moment of alighting from the carriage, presentations, compliments, girls' presents, expectations awakened, petitions to receive, solicitations to grant, popular fêtes, balls, plays, cantatas, fireworks, no going to bed, only setting out again and doing the same in another town, with the same diversions, courtesies, and fatigue.

And Joséphine is not only imperturbably punctual, but she is faultlessly amiable. Of course she cannot give particular attention to each person, as she does in Paris, or renew acquaintance by a word. Very rarely, as the line of persons whom she saw for the first time file past her, did she catch a name which she had already heard and enter into conversation with its bearer; but she possessed the art of small-talk in such perfection, and was always so sure to say the thing that pleased, she could smile so kindly, her sweet way of presenting the customary gifts to the young girls and the ladies who brought her flowers, stuffs, bonbons, and other products of the place, was so entirely her own, that she won all hearts. It was not by one of her ladies or by a chamberlain that she

sent the trinkets, she had them on, she detached a watch from her bodice, she drew a ring off one of her fingers, she held a snuff-box in her hand: what she gave was something of her own, something belonging to her, that she had worn for a moment and seemed to have worn always. The present had an air of spontaneousness which doubled its value. It was *her* parure, *her* watch, *her* bracelet that she gave, not a mere trinket, an anonymous ornament to be taken to the jeweller's as soon as possible so that its value might be ascertained. It was no longer a present, it was a souvenir, in most cases it was to be a relic.

Acting! so be it: what is life? At any rate, in such case, Joséphine was an incomparable actress; her face never wore an expression of boredom or weariness; she never disconcerted people by a haughty air; she never turned even the most absurd sights into ridicule; she never shrank from the dreariest and weariest of ceremonies; she never shirked the most laborious tasks. What was her motive? To remain with the Emperor, to show her unfailing readiness, to make proof of her devotion to his will. Although she was once obliged to go to bed on arrival somewhere, being completely prostrated by headache, and half-dead with fatigue, she never was missing at the hour of departure, never kept anybody waiting a minute, never allowed a complaint to pass her lips,—so great was her fear lest Napoleon should set off, leaving her behind, with orders to return to Paris. But this was not all, she was a woman of the world, with a French woman's good-breeding: she knew her duties, the higher she rose the more keenly she felt the obligations of politeness and consideration, and the first mark of the latter was to recognize and graciously receive the reverence of those who offered it. Perhaps a little vanity mingled with her sense of right; but what matter? In this respect Joséphine fulfilled her duty better than any sovereign had ever done in France; and she accomplished that duty even more completely in the provinces than in Paris, because there she hardly ever assumed the air of familiarity that injured her prestige, there she revealed herself to all as the kindly and gracious Sovereign, but she preserved her dignity; she remained

the Sovereign; and after these 'voyages' it used to be said, most truly:

"Napoleon wins battles, Joséphine wins hearts."

* * *

We have now traced Joséphine's life in minute detail while she was Empress, and formed some idea of her tastes, her habits, the ways and fashions that she adopted, and her various surroundings. Only one of the elements of information has been touched in this process; our investigation has had the Empress for its sole object. Nothing is told here of Joséphine in the relations of wife, mother, daughter-in-law, and sister-in-law, with her husband, her children, and her kinsfolk; nothing of her life before the Empire, and after the divorce; nothing of the history of Malmaison, which is so necessary. The Empress only is in question, and the sole purpose of the present work is to restore the image of Joséphine in that capacity as it was presented to her contemporaries. Upon the facts which we have stated in detail they formed their opinion, and upon that opinion the judgment of posterity has hitherto been founded. "Benevolent disposition, quite special social tact," says Metternich; "sound judgment, great social custom and ease," says Lavallette; and all who come after, Beugnot, Meneval, Mollien, Savary, Rapp, all the writers of memoirs without exception, agree in praising her affability, her tact, and most of them her kindness.

They are equally unanimous in their estimate of her intellect. "She had not much mind", says both Lavallette and Metternich; "she had not a superior mind," says Meneval.

As for the application and the span of that mind, our judgment accords with that of Joséphine's contemporaries. She certainly was deficient in the governing faculty, in lofty purpose, in the desire to act with greatness. She is the typical squanderer; her mania for spending money is proved by Malmaison, the dressmakers, the jewellers, all the gulfs into which she flung it in the course of the most absurdly prodigal life that ever was known in the world.

In stating that she expended twenty-five millions (francs) on her fancies in six years, we fall short of the truth; but only let a woman find a lover who is always ready to pay any amount of debts she pleases to contract, to what sum will she not run them up? Never to have to reckon, never to know the value of things, to ignore money altogether, regardless of everything but her own desire for the moment, and to be able to gratify it, was the dream that Joséphine realized. In that way she did indeed prove herself unpractical; for, as the Emperor reminded her reproachfully, she did not secure any provision for her grandchildren; but she was true to her rôle and to her temperament. Now these were the rôle and the temperament of a courtezan.

But, while she was deficient in the faculty of ruling—one which thrifty housewives generally possess—she displayed under all circumstances infinite skill in retaining the lover, the husband, who was constantly trying to escape, and in holding him fast; she kept the Bonapartes in check; she managed several intrigues; she arranged alliances; and during the siege which she stood for fourteen years, no one could teach her any tricks of fence, or how to make her sallies, or work her countermines. She possessed the supreme art of concealing art, and preferred to be thought stupid rather than to show her hand.

She had acquired, or she had by nature, being a woman, a habit of dissimulation which she exercised on all occasions. As Napoleon said, with her *the negative* was always ready. "It was her first impulse, her first word was *No*, and that *No* was not exactly a falsehood, it was a precaution, it was simply defensive." She did not admit, she never admitted; she was armed with no other weapon, but, constantly using that one, she was always on her guard. So great was her skill in the use of the invaluable negative, that such an observer as Beugnot was deceived by it and praised her sincerity.

The fact was that in anything that did not touch her position, she could appear, and, it would seem, actually was, sincere: what did it matter to her? It was more simple, more agreeable, and easier to her to be pleasant to everybody than to show preference or antipathy to any person whatever. Supposing that she had not possessed the prudence that

would recommend such a rule of life, a selfish motive would suggest it. She had no friends, male or female, no relative, no child whom she was not ready to sacrifice to her interests of the moment; but at the same time she was kindness itself to the universe at large, and every one left her presence charmed. The depth of her egoism was unfathomable, but that egoism assumed the form of affability and sympathy,—everybody was taken in by it; indeed she seems to have believed in it herself.

Egoism, when a woman hides it so successfully that she gets credit for feeling, is at once a great force and a strong defence. In this Josephine excelled, and the appearance was sufficient, for, what she really thought, none, not even herself, knew. Her egoism was as unconscious as it was profound; her dissimulation was so habitual that it required no effort to set it in motion, it was self-acting. Joséphine convinced her husband and her children that she loved them; she convinced everybody that she was kind hearted; she convinced Beugnot that she was sincere.

Joséphine was a woman of the most civilized sort and of the least civilized at the same time. She had no education, no belief, no moral training, but her social tact, which came to her by nature, was like another sense, and made her exquisitely charming. From the first she knew how to enter a salon, how to move and 'appear' there, how to say exactly what she ought to say to each person, with graceful, always appropriate variation, and how to win the hearts of all. Where had she learned all this? Nowhere. It was a gift. She was made so.

This was her greatest quality, perhaps the only one she possessed; but it sufficed: manners so perfect, tact so faultless, covered up the moral void. Is she the sole example of this phenomenon? Have not others, of lower origin than Joséphine, and, like her, without the polish of tradition or the training of society, found themselves in their own atmosphere in the first salon they have ever entered, and more at ease than if they had been brought up in the sphere of salons; and is not the opposite also the case? Do we not know men and women, well born and well educated, whose lives are passed *in*, but who never are *of* society.

The mundane virtues of Joséphine were, then, affability, tact, egoism, and dissimulation; she had no others, but she would not have needed any, had she been always with Napoleon. He was her guide and instructor: whether he reproved her or kept silence, he was there,—that was enough, she was on her guard; she acted according to the rule that he had laid down; and by submitting herself to etiquette she constrained others to endure it. Thus, she maintained herself in her rank, upheld her dignity, and fear rather than her inclination placed her on a par with her fortune. But, let Napoleon be absent, and then, like those soft stuffs which she preferred to wear, she gave way at once; she lost sight of what she had become, she reverted to what she had been. She fell back on her old associations, she indulged in silly amusements, she joined in practical jokes, she laughed at coarse stories, she put up with the humours of those around her, listened to the gossip of waiting-maids, reverted to her former life. Napoleon wanting, all was wanting to her; for she had not conceived any idea of herself that could sustain her and lift her above others; her dignity was only reflected; her deportment was only a thing imposed on her by the consciousness of its importance to her interests, by the fear of losing her position.

And that position, what a burden! What a struggle to win it, what incessant effort to maintain it, and, in reality, what a dull life! Setting aside its chief delight, the waste of money, dress, jewels, Malmaison, there was nothing in it but vanity gratified; but at what a price! Not a minute of calm, of restfulness, or even of tranquillity. This woman whose tastes were sedentary passed her time as empress in constant travelling on high roads, in perpetual change of horizon and environment. And with her went one devouring anxiety, one overwhelming care: what is he saying? what is he thinking? what is he going to do? If he leaves Paris, she goes too. If he travels, she travels. If he stays, she stays. She waits, hours, days, listening for the least rumour, and frightened at the least breath. Not to displease the master, not to give the least pretext for offence, to keep up a brave spirit, show a fair face, to

gather information without seeming to do so, to listen without being detected, to feel the threat of repudiation perpetually hanging over her head, to know that repudiation was inevitable: to gain time, to postpone the event—and this for the length of four whole years!

What a life? What torment for any other woman; but, such as it was, Josephine, with her nature, with her existence of ups and downs, and the succession of alternatives that made up her past, felt it less, no doubt, than would a woman who had led a settled life from childhood in even a moderate but defined and secure position. In the midst of the most serious anxieties she could take pleasure in a bonnet, a dress, an ornament; she could gossip with her waiting-women, and her Ladies of the Palace, and the women who came to visit her; she could look at her flowers, play with her pets, and at patience. The childlike side of her forcibly prevented her from sinking into gloom and kept her amused. She was not a martyr, nor was she either strong-minded or weak-minded. In the most amazing position that ever fell to the lot of any one, by the fortune of events in which she counted for nothing, had not aided herself in any way, fortune that dropped on her from the skies, Joséphine was the sublimation of the Frenchwoman,—not of the virtues of the race, but of its charms, its accomplishments, and the defects of its nature.

In her we see two women—the woman as she was when the Emperor was present, and the woman as she was when the Emperor was absent—the latter only is the veritable Joséphine. It is she whom the shopkeepers, the actors, the dressers, the gardeners saw,—whom on certain days, the Ladies of the Palace and the chamberlains saw,—the woman of debts, pets, and tittle-tattle. But the other woman is she whom the public saw, bent on her passionate desire to hold fast, not to forfeit her place, not to be discarded, not to be meanly paid off; and yet, so adroit, that until the last, when her fall was imminent, she never allowed this incessant effort to be perceived; she did not affect anything, there was no strain, she was just as usual, as she ought to be, and such as she ought to be. If this was acting, it was comedy so exquisitely acted that it kept

up a lasting impression of its truth; but who shall say that she was not sincere? Having learned her part may she not have entered into it so thoroughly as actually to live in it? Would she, if this were so, be the first woman who has had a dual existence, who has deceived with sincerity?

In truth, her contemporaries are right and their judgment ought to be final: into the privacy, the depths, the conscience of human beings none can penetrate; though by close observation we may succeed in getting clues to them; we have to accept appearances, and to judge them by the outside. After all, to make the companion of one's life happy is to prove one's possession of the chief among the domestic virtues; and Napoleon never ceased to dwell on the happiness he had owed to his wife. The social virtues take precedence of all the others among civilized people, and are the only virtues which concern society, or that it has a right to enquire into. Joséphine certainly possessed these to an incomparable degree: such grace that it was a pleasure to look at her, affability which always suggested the right thing to say, tact and memory, a melodious voice, a charming smile, and that admirable faculty of dissimulation which is *the* social virtue 'par excellence.'

And so, she is worth studying because she is a woman, and may it not be said that in her time she represented, incarnated, even symbolized *Woman?* Not the home-keeping or the church-going woman, the type of virtue and self-sacrifice, duty, and devotedness; but the woman of the world, the salon and the boudoir, the woman who has learned nothing and yet knows by instinct all that she requires to know,—a being of luxury, pleasure, and charm, who by her defects, even more than by her qualities, binds societies together, reunites the scattered members, establishes a sort of law of gallantry and politeness, and who, without apparent effort, passes from her arm-chair to a throne, is not intoxicated by the transit, feels no awkwardness, but is *at her ease.* No doubt this is the supreme quality that must be recognized in Joséphine. While she bore in mind what she had been and did not over-rate herself, she placed herself on a par with

JOSEPHINE IN 1804

Medallion by Chinard

each new position as it came to her, and she never appeared out of place in any. If, when she had reached the summit she was occasionally hesitating and uncertain, so easy and adaptable was her nature that, at a look from the Emperor, she recovered herself immediately and was equal to the occasion. Of her social acts—and how complicated, difficult, and strange were these!—there is not one that provokes a smile; in her public utterances there is not a jarring word; her attire was always faultless. She cannot be reproached with an error of taste, a failure in tact, an instance of vulgarity in expression or demeanour. In her the woman is triumphant, the Frenchwoman, the Creole, the woman who is only a worldling, and who does not need to be anything more, because she cannot be anything better.



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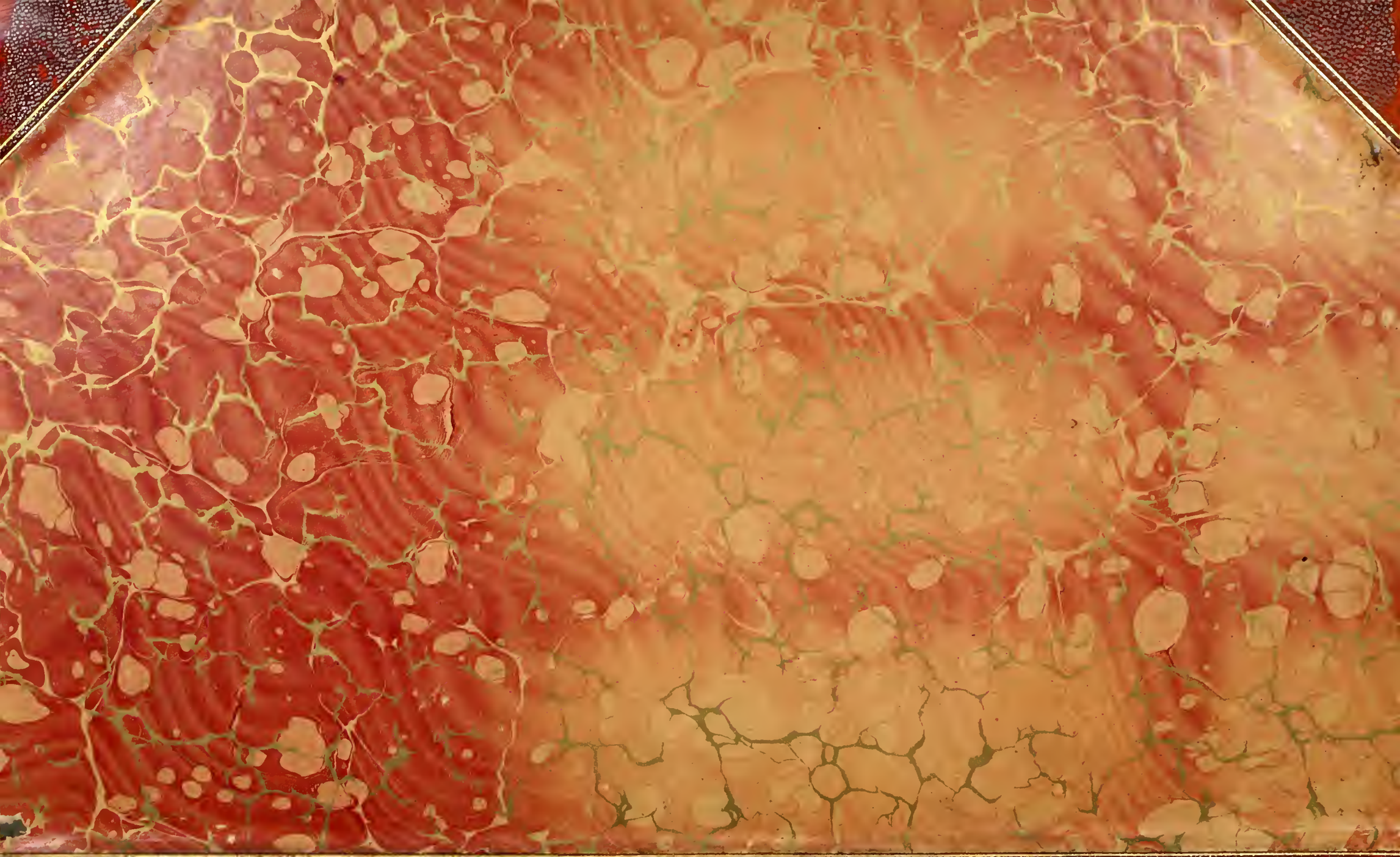
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